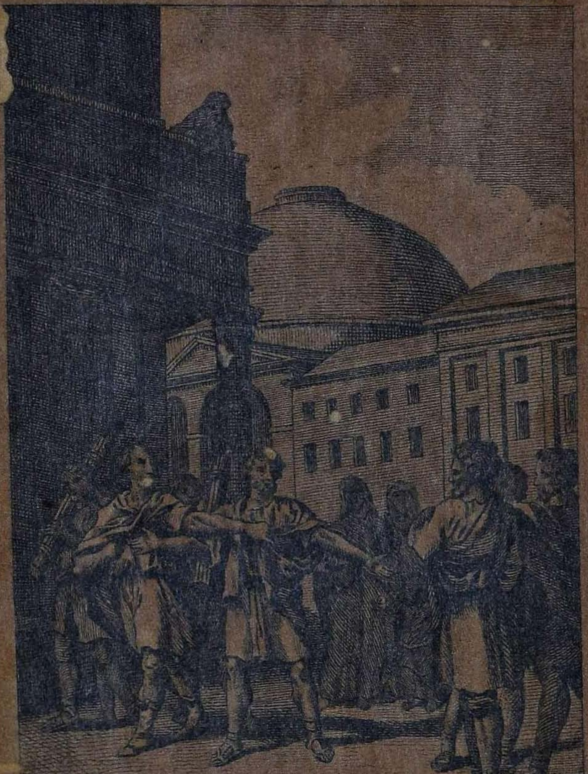
Vol. V.



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# PLUTARCH'S

# LIVES,

TRANSLATED FROM

THE ORIGINAL GREEK:

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND

A NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

BY JOHN LANGHORNE, D.D.
AND
WILLIAM LANGHORNE, M.A.

THE SIXTH EDITION,

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# PLUTARCH's LIVES.

## TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS.

### TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

HAVING thus presented you with the history of Agis and Cleomenes, we have two Romans to compare with them; and no less dreadful a scene of calamities to open in the lives of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. They were the sons of Tiberius Gracchus; who, though he was once honoured with the censorship, twice with the consulate, and led up two triumphs, yet derived still greater dignity from his virtues*. Hence, after the death of that Scipio who conquered Hannibal, he was thought worthy to marry Cornelia, the daughter of that great man, though he had not been upon any terms of friendship with him, but rather always at variance. It is said that he once caught a pair of serpents upon his bed, and that the soothsayers, after they had considered the prodigy, advised him neither to kill them both, nor let them both go. If he killed the male serpent, they told him his death would be the consequence; if the female, that of Cornelia. Tiberius, who loved his wife, and thought it more suitable for him to die first, who was much older than his wife, killed the male, and set the female at liberty. Not long after this, he died, leaving Cornelia with no fewer than twelve children †.

The

* Cicero in his first book *de Divinatione* passes the highest encomiums on his virtue and wisdom. He was grandson to Publius Sempronius.

† Cicero relates this story in his first book *de Divinatione*, from the memoirs of Caius Gracchus, the son of Tiberius.

The care of the houſe and the children now entirely devolved upon Cornelia; and ſhe behaved with ſuch ſobriety, ſo much parental affection and greatneſs of mind, that Tiberius ſeemed not to have judged ill, in chooſing to die for ſo valuable a woman. For though Ptolemy, king of Egypt, paid his addreſſes to her, and offered her a ſhare in his throne, ſhe refuſed him. During her widowhood, ſhe loſt all her children except three, one daughter, who was married to Scipio the younger, and two ſons, Tiberius and Caius, whoſe lives we are now writing. Cornelia brought them up with ſo much care, that though they were without diſpute of the nobleſt family, and had the happieſt genius and diſpoſition of all the Roman youth, yet education was allowed to have contributed more to their perfections than nature.

As in the ſtatues and pictures of Caſtor and Pollux, though there is a reſemblance between the brothers, yet there is alſo a difference in the make of him who delighted in the *ceſtus*, and in the other whoſe province was horſemanſhip: ſo while theſe young men ſtrongly reſembled each other, in point of valour, of temperance, of liberality, of eloquence, of greatneſs of mind, there appeared in their actions and political conduct no ſmall diſſimilarity. It may not be amiſs to explain the difference, before we proceed farther.

In the firſt place, Tiberius had a mildneſs in his look, and a compoſure in his whole behaviour; Caius as much vehemence and fire. So that when they ſpoke in public, Tiberius had a great modeſty of action, and ſhifted not his place; whereas Caius was the firſt of the Romans, that, in addreſſing the people, moved from one end of the *roſtra* to the other, and threw his gown off his ſhoulder*. So it is related of Cleon of Athens, that he was the firſt orator who threw back his robe and ſmote upon his thigh. The oratory of Caius was ſtrongly impaſſioned, and calculated to excite terror; that of Tiberius was of a more gentle kind, and pity was the emotion that it raiſed.



* Cicero in his third book *de Oratore* quotes a paſſage from one of Caius's orations on the death of Tiberius, which ſtrongly marks the nervous pathos of his eloquence. "Quo me miſer conferam? In Ca-"pitoliumne? at fratris ſanguine redundat. An domum? Matremne "ut miſeram, lamentantemque videam & abjectam?" Cicero obſerves that his action was no leſs animated than his eloquence: *Quæ ſic ab illo acta eſſe conſtabat, oculis, voce, geſtu, inimici ut lacbrymas tenere non poſſent.*

The language of Tiberius was chastised and elaborate; that of Caius splendid and persuasive. So, in their manner of living, Tiberius was plain and frugal; Caius, when compared to other young Romans, temperate and sober, but, in comparison with his brother, a friend to luxury. Hence, Drusus objected to him, that he had bought Delphic tables*, of silver only, but very exquisite workmanship, at the rate of twelve hundred and fifty *drachmas* a pound.

Their tempers were no less different than their language. Tiberius was mild and gentle; Caius, high-spirited and uncontrouled; insomuch, that in speaking he would often be carried away by the violence of his passion, exalt his voice above the regular pitch, give into abusive expressions, and disorder the whole frame of his oration. To guard against these excesses, he ordered his servant Licinius, who was a sensible man, to stand with a pitch-pipe † behind him when he spoke in public, and whenever he found him straining his voice or breaking out into anger, to give him a softer key; upon which, his violence both of tone and passion immediately abated, and he was easily recalled to a propriety of address.

Such was the difference between the two brothers. But in the valour they exerted against their enemies, in the justice they did their fellow-citizens, in attention to their duty as magistrates, and in self-government with respect to pleasure, they were perfectly alike. Tiberius was nine years older than his brother; consequently their political operations took place in different periods. This was a great disadvantage, and indeed the principal thing that prevented their success. Had they flourished together, and acted in concert, such an union would have added greatly to their force, and perhaps might have rendered it irresistible. We must, therefore, speak of each separately; and we shall begin with the eldest.

Tiberius, as he grew towards manhood, gained so extraordinary a reputation, that he was admitted into the college of the augurs, rather on account of his virtue than his high birth. Of the excellence of his character the following is also a proof. Appius Claudius, who had been honoured both with the consulate and censorship, whose merit had raised him to the rank of president of the senate, and



* These, we suppose, were a kind of tripods.

† Cicero, in his third book *de Oratore*, calls this a small ivory-pipe. *Eburneola fistula.*

and who in ſenſe and ſpirit was ſuperior to all the Romans of his time, ſupping one evening with the *augurs* at a public entertainment, addreſſed himſelf to Tiberius with great kindneſs, and offered him his daughter in marriage. Tiberius accepted the propoſal with pleaſure; and the contract being agreed upon, Appius, when he went home, had no ſooner entered the houſe, than he called out aloud to his wife, and ſaid, "Antiſtia, I have contracted our "daughter Claudia." Antiſtia, much ſurpriſed, anſwered, "Why ſo ſuddenly? What need of ſuch haſte, unleſs "Tiberius Gracchus be the man you have pitched upon?" I am not ignorant that ſome * tell the ſame ſtory of Tiberius the father of the Gracchi and Scipio Africanus: but moſt hiſtorians give it in the manner we have mentioned; and Polybius, in particular, tells us, that after the death of Africanus, Cornelia's relations gave her to Tiberius, in preference of all competitors; which is a proof that her father left her unengaged.

The Tiberius of whom we are writing, ſerved in Africa under the younger Scipio, who had married his ſiſter; and, as he lived in the ſame tent with the general, he became immediately attentive to his genius and powers, which were daily productive of ſuch actions as might animate a young man to virtue, and attract his imitation. With theſe advantages Tiberius ſoon excelled all of his age, both in point of diſcipline and valour. At a ſiege of one of the enemy's towns, he was the firſt that ſcaled the walls, as Fannius relates†, who, according to his own account, mounted it with him, and had a ſhare in the honour. In ſhort, Tiberius, while he ſtaid with the army, was greatly beloved, and as much regretted when he left it.

After this expedition he was appointed quæſtor, and it fell to his lot to attend the conſul Caius Mancinus in the Numantian war ‡. Mancinus did not want courage, but he was one of the moſt unfortunate generals the Romans ever had. Yet amidſt a train of ſevere accidents and deſperate circumſtances, Tiberius diſtinguiſhed himſelf the more, not only by his courage and capacity, but, what did him greater honour, by his reſpectful behaviour to his general, whoſe misfortunes had made him forget even the authority that he bore.

* Amongſt theſe was Livy, Lib. xxxviii. 37.

† This Fannius was author of a hiſtory and certain annals which were abridged by Brutus.

‡ He was conſul with Emilius Lepidus in the year of Rome 616.

bore. For, after having loſt ſeveral important battles, he attempted to decamp in the night: the Numantians perceiving this movement, ſeized the camp, and falling upon the fugitives, made great havock of the rear. Not ſatisfied with this, they ſurrounded the whole army, and drove the Romans upon impracticable ground, where there was no poſſibility of eſcape. Mancinus now deſpairing of making his way ſword in hand, ſent a herald to beg a truce and conditions of peace. The Numantians, however, would truſt no man but Tiberius, and they inſiſted on his being ſent to treat. This they did, not only out of regard to the young man who had ſo great a character in the army, but to the memory of his father, who had formerly made war in Spain, and after having ſubdued ſeveral nations, granted the Numantians a peace, which through his intereſt was confirmed at Rome, and obſerved with good faith. Tiberius was accordingly ſent; and, in his negociation, he thought proper to comply with ſome articles, by which means he gained others, and made a peace that undoubtedly ſaved twenty thouſand Roman citizens, beſide ſlaves and other retainers to the army.

But whatever was left in the camp, the Numantians took as legal plunder. Among the reſt they carried off the books and papers which contained the accounts of Tiberius's quæſtorſhip. As it was a matter of importance to him to recover them, though the Roman army was already under march, he returned with a few friends to Numantia. Having called out the magiſtrates of the place, he deſired them to reſtore him his books, that his enemies might not have an opportunity to accuſe him, when they ſaw he had loſt the means of defending himſelf. The Numantians were much pleaſed that the accident had given them an opportunity to oblige him, and they invited him to enter their city. As he was deliberating on this circumſtance, they drew nearer, and taking him by the hand, earneſtly intreated him no longer to look upon them as enemies, but to rank them among his friends, and place a confidence in them as ſuch. Tiberius thought it beſt to comply, both for the ſake of his books, and for fear of offending them by the appearance of diſtruſt. Accordingly he went into the town with them, where the firſt thing they did, was to provide a little collation, and to beg he would partake of it. Afterwards they returned him his books, and deſired he would take whatever elſe he choſe among the ſpoils. He accepted, however,

of nothing but ſome frankincenſe, to be uſed in the public ſacrifices, and at his departure he embraced them with great cordiality.

On his return to Rome, he found that the whole buſineſs of the peace was conſidered in an obnoxious and diſhonourable light. In this danger, the relations and friends of the ſoldiers he had brought off, who made a very conſiderable part of the people, joined to ſupport Tiberius; imputing all the diſgrace of what was done to the general; and inſiſting that the quæſtor had ſaved ſo many citizens. The generality of the citizens, however, could not ſuffer the peace to ſtand, and they demanded that, in this caſe, the example of their anceſtors ſhould be followed. For when their generals thought themſelves happy in getting out of the hands of the Samnites, by agreeing to ſuch a league, they delivered them naked to the enemy*. The quæſtors too, and the tribunes, and all that had a ſhare in concluding the peace, they ſent back in the ſame condition, and turned entirely upon them the breach of the treaty and of the oath that ſhould have confirmed it.

On this occaſion the people ſhewed their affection for Tiberius in a remarkable manner: for they decreed that the conſul ſhould be delivered up to the Numantians, naked and in chains; but that all the reſt ſhould be ſpared for the ſake of Tiberius. Scipio, who had then great authority and intereſt in Rome, ſeems to have contributed to the procuring of this decree. He was blamed, notwithſtanding, for not ſaving Mancinus, nor uſing his beſt endeavours to get the peace with the Numantians ratified, which would not have been granted at all, had it not been on account of his friend and relation Tiberius. Great part of theſe complaints, indeed, ſeems to have ariſen from the ambition and exceſſive zeal of Tiberius's friends and the ſophiſts he had about him; and the difference between him and Scipio was far from terminating in irreconcileable enmity. Nay, I am perſuaded, that Tiberius would never have fallen into thoſe misfortunes that ruined him, had Scipio been at home, to aſſiſt him in his political conduct. He was engaged in war with Numantia, when Tiberius ventured to propoſe his new laws. It was on this occaſion.

When

* This was about 182 years before. The generals ſent back, were the conſuls Veturius Calvinus, and Poſthumius Albinus.

When the Romans in their wars made any acquiſitions of lands from their neighbours, they uſed formerly to ſell part, to add part to the public demeſnes, and to diſtribute the reſt among the neceſſitous citizens; only reſerving a ſmall rent to be paid into the treaſury. But when the rich began to carry it with a high hand over the poor, and to exclude them entirely, if they did not pay exorbitant rents, a law was made that no man ſhould be poſſeſſed of more than five hundred acres of land. This ſtatute for a while reſtrained the avarice of the rich, and helped the poor, who by virtue of it, remained upon their lands at the old rents. But afterwards their wealthy neighbours took their farms from them, and held them in other names; though, in time, they ſcrupled not to claim them in their own. The poor, thus expelled, neither gave in their names readily to the levies, nor attended to the education of their children. The conſequence was a want of freemen all over Italy; for it was filled with ſlaves and barbarians, who, after the poor Roman citizens were diſpoſſeſſed, cultivated the ground for the rich. Caius Lælius, the friend of Scipio, attempted to correct this diſorder; but finding a formidable oppoſition from perſons in power, and fearing the matter could not be decided without the ſword, he gave it up. This gained him the name of Lælius the *wiſe**. But Tiberius was no ſooner appointed tribune of the people, than he embarked in the ſame enterprize. He was put upon it, according to moſt authors, by Diophanes the rhetorician, and Bloſſius the philoſopher; the former of which was a Mitylenean exile, the latter a native of Cumæ in Italy, and a particular friend of Antipater of Tarſus, with whom he became acquainted at Rome, and who did him the honour to addreſs ſome of his philoſophical writings to him.

Some blame his mother Cornelia, who uſed to reproach her ſons, that ſhe was ſtill called the mother in-law of Scipio, not the mother of the Gracchi. Others ſay, Tiberius took this raſh ſtep from a jealouſy of Spurius Poſthumius, who was of the ſame age with him, and his rival in oratory. It ſeems, when he returned from the wars, he found Poſthumius ſo much before him in point of reputation and intereſt with the people, that, to recover his ground, he undertook

* Plutarch ſeems here to have followed ſome miſtaken authority. It was not this circumſtance, but the abſtemiouſneſs of his life, that gave Lælius the name of *wiſe*. *Lælius eo dictus eſt* ſapiens, *quod non intelligeret quid ſuaviſſimum eſſet.* Cic. de Fin. Bon. & Mal.

 this

this hazardous affair, which so effectually drew the popular attention upon him. But his brother Caius writes, that as Tiberius was passing through Tuscany on his way to Numantia, and found the country almost depopulated, there being scarce any husbandmen or shepherds, except slaves from foreign and barbarous nations, he then first formed the project which plunged them in so many misfortunes. It is certain, however, that the people inflamed his spirit of enterprize and ambition, by putting up writings on the porticos, walls, and monuments, in which they begged of him to restore their share of the public lands to the poor.

Yet he did not frame the law without consulting some of the Romans that were most distinguished for their virtue and authority. Among these were Crassus the chief pontiff, Mutius Scævola the lawyer, who at that time was also consul, and Appius Claudius father-in-law to Tiberius. There never was a milder law made against so much injustice and oppression. For they who deserved to have been punished for their infringement on the rights of the community, and fined for holding the lands contrary to law, were to have a consideration for giving up their groundless claims, and restoring the estates to such of the citizens as were to be relieved. But though the reformation was conducted with so much tenderness, the people were satisfied: they were willing to overlook what was past, on condition that they might guard against future usurpations.

On the other hand, persons of great property opposed the law out of avarice, and the lawgiver out of a spirit of resentment and malignity; endeavouring to prejudice the people against the design, as if Tiberius intended by the *Agrarian* law to throw all into disorder, and subvert the constitution. But their attempts were vain. For, in this just and glorious cause, Tiberius exerted an eloquence which might have adorned a worse subject, and which nothing could resist. How great was he, when the people were gathered about the *rostrum*, and he pleaded for the poor in such language as this: "The wild beasts of Italy have "their caves to retire to, but the brave men who spill their "blood in her cause, having nothing left but air and light. "Without houses, without any settled habitations, they "wander from place to place with their wives and children; "and their generals do but mock them, when, at the head "of their armies, they exhort their men to fight for their "sepulchres and domestic gods. For, among such numbers,

"perhaps

"perhaps there is not a Roman who has an altar that be-"longed to his anceſtors, or a ſepulchre in which their "aſhes reſt. The private ſoldiers fight and die, to advance "the wealth and luxury of the great; and they are called "maſters of the world, while they have not a foot of ground "in their poſſeſſion."

Such ſpeeches as this, delivered by a man of ſuch ſpirit, and flowing from a heart really intereſted in the cauſe, filled the people with an enthuſiaſtic fury, and none of his adverſaries durſt pretend to anſwer him. Forbearing, therefore the war of words, they addreſs themſelves to Marcus Octavius, one of the tribunes, a grave and modeſt young man, and an intimate acquaintance of Tiberius. Out of reverence for his friend, he declined the taſk at firſt; but upon a number of applications from men of the firſt rank, he was prevailed upon to oppoſe Tiberius, and prevent the paſſing of the law. For the tribunes' power chiefly lies in the negative voice, and if one of them ſtands out, the reſt can effect nothing.

Incenſed by this behaviour, Tiberius dropt his moderate bill, and propoſed another more agreeable to the commonalty, and more ſevere againſt the uſurpers. For by this they were commanded immediately to quit the lands which they held contrary to former laws. On this ſubject there were daily diſputes between him and Octavius on the *roſtra*; yet not one abuſive or diſparaging word is ſaid to have eſcaped either of them in all the heat of ſpeaking. Indeed, an ingenuous diſpoſition and liberal education, will prevent or reſtrain the ſallies of paſſion, not only during the free enjoyment of the bottle, but in the ardour of contention about points of a ſuperior nature.

Tiberius obſerving that Octavius was liable to ſuffer by the bill, as having more land than the laws could warrant, deſired him to give up his oppoſition, and offered, at the ſame time, to indemnify him out of his own fortune, though that was not great. As this propoſal was not accepted, Tiberius forbad all other magiſtrates to exerciſe their functions, till the *Agrarian* law was paſſed. He likewiſe put his own ſeal upon the doors of the temple of Saturn, that the quæſtors might neither bring any thing into the treaſury, nor take any thing out. And he threatened to fine ſuch of the prætors as ſhould attempt to diſobey his commands. This ſtruck ſuch a terror, that all departments of government were at a ſtand. Perſons of great property

put themselves into mourning, and appeared in public with all the circumstances that they thought might excite compassion. Not satisfied with this, they conspired the death of Tiberius, and suborned assassins to destroy him. For which reason he appeared with a tuck, such as is used by robbers, which the Romans call a *dolon**.

When the day appointed came, and Tiberius was summoning the people to give their suffrages, a party of the people of property carried off the balloting vessels†, which occasioned great confusion. Tiberius, however, seemed strong enough to carry his point by force, and his partizans were preparing to have recourse to it, when Manlius and Fulvius, men of consular dignity, fell at Tiberius's feet, bathed his hands with tears, and conjured him not to put his purpose in execution. He now perceived how dreadful the consequences of his attempt might be, and his reverence for those two great men had its effect upon him: he therefore asked them what they would have him do. They said, they were not capable of advising him in so important an affair, and earnestly intreated him to refer it to the senate. The senate assembled to deliberate upon it, but the influence of the people of fortune on that body was such, that their debates ended in nothing.

Tiberius then adopted a measure that was neither just nor moderate. He resolved to remove Octavius from the tribuneship, because there was no other means to get his law passed. He addressed him, indeed, in public first, in a mild and friendly manner, and taking him by the hand, conjured him to gratify the people, who asked nothing that was unjust, and would only receive a small recompence for the great labours and dangers they had experienced. But Octavius absolutely refused to comply. Tiberius then declared, "That as it was not possible for two magistrates of "equal

* We find this word used by Virgil.

Pila manu, sævosque gerunt in bella dolones. Æn. vii. v. 664.

The dolon was a staff that had a poignard concealed within it, and had its name from *dolus*, deceit.

† The original ὑδρία signifies an urn. The Romans had two sorts of vessels which they used in balloting. The first were open vessels called *cistæ*, or *cistellæ*, which contained the ballots before they were distributed to the people; the others, with narrow necks, were called *sitellæ*, and into these the people cast their ballots. The latter were the vessels which are here said to have been carried off.

"equal authority, when they differed in ſuch capital points, "to go through the remainder of their office without coming "to hoſtilities, he ſaw no other remedy but the depoſing "of them." He therefore deſired Octavius to take the ſenſe of the people firſt with reſpect to him; aſſuring him, that he would immediately return to a private ſtation, if the ſuffrages of his fellow-citizens ſhould order it ſo. As Octavius rejected this propoſal too, Tiberius told him plainly, that he would put the queſtion to the people concerning him, if upon farther conſideration he did not alter his mind.

Upon this, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly. Next day he convoked it again; and when he had mounted the *roſtra*, he made another trial to bring Octavius to compliance. But finding him inflexible, he propoſed a decree for depriving him of the tribuneſhip, and immediately put it to the vote. When, of the five and thirty tribes, ſeventeen had given their voices for it, and there wanted only one more to make Octavius a private man, Tiberius ordered them to ſtop, and once more applied to his colleague. He embraced him with great tenderneſs in the ſight of the people, and with the moſt preſſing inſtances beſought him, neither to bring ſuch a mark of infamy upon himſelf, nor expoſe him to the diſreputation of being promoter of ſuch ſevere and violent meaſures. It was not without emotion that Octavius is ſaid to have liſtened to theſe intreaties. His eyes were filled with tears, and he ſtood a long time ſilent. But when he looked towards the perſons of property, who were aſſembled in a body, ſhame and fear of loſing himſelf in their opinion, brought him back to his reſolution to run all riſks, and with a noble firmneſs he bade Tiberius do his pleaſure. The bill, therefore, was paſſed; and Tiberius ordered one of his freedmen to pull down Octavius from the tribunal; for he employed his own freedmen as lictors. This ignominious manner of expulſion, made the caſe of Octavius more pitiable. The people, notwithſtanding, fell upon him; but by the aſſiſtance of thoſe of the landed intereſt, who came to his defence, and kept off the mob, he eſcaped with his life. However, a faithful ſervant of his, who ſtood before him to ward off the danger, had his eyes torn out. This violence was much againſt the will of Tiberius, who no ſooner ſaw the tumult riſing, than he haſtened down to appeaſe it.

The Agrarian law then was confirmed, and three commiſſioners appointed to take a ſurvey of the lands, and ſee them properly diſtributed. Tiberius was one of the three, his father-in-law Appius Claudius another, and his brother Caius Gracchus the third. The latter was then making the campaign under Scipio at Numantia. Tiberius, having carried theſe points without oppoſition, next filled up the vacant tribune's ſeat; into which he did not put a man of any note, but Mutius, one of his own clients. Theſe proceedings exaſperated the patricians extremely, and as they dreaded the increaſe of his power, they took every opportunity to inſult him in the ſenate. When he deſired, for inſtance, what was nothing more than cuſtomary, a tent at the public charge, for his uſe in dividing the lands, they refuſed him one, though ſuch things had been often granted on much leſs important occaſions. And, at the motion of Publius Naſica, he had only nine *oboli* a day allowed for his expences. Naſica, indeed, was become his avowed enemy; for he had a great eſtate in the public lands, and was, of courſe, unwilling to be ſtripped of it.

At the ſame time, the people were more and more enraged. One of Tiberius's friends happening to die ſuddenly, and malignant ſpots appearing upon the body, they loudly declared that the man was poiſoned. They aſſembled at his funeral, took the bier upon their ſhoulders, and carried it to the pile. There they were confirmed in their ſuſpicions; for the corpſe burſt, and emitted ſuch a quantity of corrupted humours, that it put out the fire. Though more fire was brought, ſtill the wood would not burn till it was removed to another place; and it was with much difficulty at laſt that the body was conſumed. Hence Tiberius took occaſion to incenſe the commonalty ſtill more againſt the other party. He put himſelf in mourning; he led his children into the *forum*, and recommended them and their mother to the protection of the people; as giving up his own life for loſt.

About this time died Attalus * Philopator; and Eudemus of Pergamus brought his will to Rome, by which it appeared, that he had left the Roman people his heirs. Tiberius endeavouring to avail himſelf of this incident, immediately propoſed a law, "That all the ready money the "king

* This was Attalus III. the ſon of Eumenes II. and Stratonice, and the laſt king of Pergamus. He was not, however, ſurnamed *Philopator*, but *Philometor*, and ſo it ſtands in the manuſcript of St. Germain.

" king had left, ſhould be diſtributed among the citizens, " to enable them to provide working tools and proceed in " the cultivation of their new-aſſigned lands. As to the " cities too, in the territories of Attalus, the ſenate, he " ſaid, had not a right to diſpoſe of them, but the peo- " ple, and he would refer the buſineſs entirely to their " judgment."

This embroiled him ſtill more with the ſenate; and one of their body, of the name of Pompey, ſtood up and ſaid, " He was next neighbour to Tiberius, and by that means " had opportunity to know that Eudemus the Pergamenian " had brought him a royal diadem and purple robe, for his " uſe when he was king of Rome." Quintus Metellus ſaid another ſevere thing againſt him—" During the cen- " ſorſhip of your father, whenever he returned home after " ſupper*, the citizens put out their lights, that they " might not appear to indulge themſelves at unſeaſonable " hours; but you, at a late hour, have ſome of the meaneſt " and moſt audacious of the people about you with torches " in their hands †." And Titus Annius, a man of no character in point of morals, but an accute diſputant, and remarkable for the ſubtlety both of his queſtions and anſwers, one day challenged Tiberius, and offered to prove him guilty of a great offence in depoſing one of his colleagues, whoſe perſon by the laws was ſacred and inviolable. This propoſition raiſed a tumult in the audience, and Tiberius immediately went out and called an aſſembly of the people, deſigning to accuſe Annius of the indignity he had offered him. Annius appeared; and knowing himſelf greatly inferior both in eloquence and reputation, he had recourſe to his old art, and begged leave only to aſk him a queſtion before the buſineſs came on. Tiberius conſented, and ſilence being made, Annius ſaid, " Would you fix a mark " of diſgrace and infamy upon me, if I ſhould appeal to " one of your colleagues? And if he came to my aſſiſtance, " would you in your anger deprive him of his office?" It is ſaid, that this queſtion ſo puzzled Tiberius, that with all

* Probably from the public hall where he ſupped with his colleague.

† Ὅτι τȣ μεν πατρος αὐτȣ τιμητευοντος, ὁσακις ἀναλυοι μετα δειπνον οἰκαδε, τα φωτα κατεσβεννυσαν οἱ πολιται, φοβȣμενοι μη πορρωτερα τȣ μετριȣ δοξωσιν ἐν συνȣσιαις εἶναι και ποτοις. Other tranſlators have paraphraſed this paſſage, and given it a different ſenſe from what the Greek ſeems to bear.

all his readineſs of ſpeech, and propriety of aſſurance, he made no manner of anſwer.

He therefore diſmiſſed the aſſembly, for the preſent. He perceived, however, that the ſtep he had taken in depoſing a tribune, had offended not only the patricians but the people too; for by ſuch a precedent he appeared to have robbed that high office of its dignity, which till then had been preſerved in great ſecurity and honour. In conſequence of this reflection, he called the commons together again, and made a ſpeech to them, from which it may not be amiſs to give an extract, by way of ſpecimen of the power and ſtrength of his eloquence. "The perſon of a "tribune, I acknowledge, is ſacred and inviolable, becauſe "he is conſecrated to the people, and takes their intereſts "under his protection. But when he deſerts thoſe intereſts, "and becomes an oppreſſor of the people, when he re- "trenches their privileges, and takes away their liberty of "voting, by thoſe acts he deprives himſelf, for he no "longer keeps to the intention of his employment. Other- "wiſe, if a tribune ſhould demoliſh the capitol, and burn "the docks and naval ſtores, his perſon could not be "touched. A man who ſhould do ſuch things as thoſe, "might ſtill be a tribune, though a vile one; but he who "diminiſhes the privileges of the people, ceaſes to be a "tribune of the people. Does it not ſhock you to think, "that a tribune ſhould be able to impriſon a conſul, and "the people not have it in their power to deprive a tribune "of his authority, when he uſes it againſt thoſe who gave "it? For the tribunes, as well as the conſuls, are elected "by the people. Kingly government ſeems to compre- "hend all authority in itſelf, and kings are conſecrated "with the moſt awful ceremonies: yet the citizens expelled "Tarquin, when his adminiſtration became iniquitous; "and, for the offence of one man, the ancient govern- "ment, under whoſe auſpices Rome was erected, was "entirely aboliſhed. What is there in Rome ſo ſacred "and venerable as the veſtal virgins who keep the per- "petual fire? Yet if any of them tranſgreſſes the rules of "her order, ſhe is buried alive. For they who are guilty "of impiety againſt the gods, loſe that ſacred character, "which they had only for the ſake of the gods. So a tri- "bune who injures the people, can be no longer ſacred "and inviolable on the people's account. He deſtroys "that power in which alone his ſtrength lay. If it is juſt

"for

"for him to be invested with the tribunitial authority by a
"majority of tribes, is it not more just for him to be de-
"posed by the suffrages of them all? What is more sacred
"and inviolable than the offerings in the temples of the
"gods? yet none pretends to hinder the people from
"making use of them, or removing them wherever they
"please. And, indeed, that the tribune's office is not in-
"violable or unremoveable, appears from hence, that se-
"veral have voluntarily laid it down, or been discharged
"at their own request." These were the heads of Tiberius's defence.

His friends, however, being sensible of the menaces of his enemies, and the combination to destroy him, were of opinion that he ought to make interest to get the tribuneship continued to him another year. For this purpose he thought of other laws, to secure the commonalty on his side; that for shortening the time of military service, and that for granting an appeal from the judges to the people. The bench of judges at that time consisted of senators only, but he ordered an equal number of knights and senators; though it must be confessed, that his taking every possible method to reduce the power of the patricians, favoured more of obstinacy and resentment, than of a regard for justice and the public good.

When the day came for it to be put to the vote whether these laws should be ratified, Tiberius and his party perceiving that their adversaries were the strongest (for all the people did not attend) spun out the time in altercations with the other tribunes; and at last he adjourned the assembly to the day following. In the mean time he entered the *forum* with all the ensigns of distress, and with tears in his eyes humbly applied to the citizens, assuring them, "He was afraid that his enemies would demolish his house, "and take his life before the next morning." This affected them so much, that numbers erected tents before his door, and guarded him all night.

At day-break the person who had the care of the chickens which they use in augury, brought them, and set meat before them; but they would none of them come out of their pen, except one, though the man shook it very much: and that one would not eat*; it only raised up its left

* When the chickens eat greedily, they thought it a sign of good fortune.

left wing, and ſtretched out its leg, and then went in again. This put Tiberius in mind of a former ill omen. He had a helmet that he wore in battle, finely ornamented and remarkably magnificent; two ſerpents that had crept into it privately, laid their eggs, and hatched in it. Such a bad preſage made him more afraid of the late one. Yet he ſet out for the capitol, as ſoon as he underſtood that the people were aſſembled there. But in going out of his houſe, he ſtumbled upon the threſhold, and ſtruck it with ſo much violence, that the nail of his great toe was broken, and the blood flowed from the wound. When he had got a little on his way, he ſaw on his left-hand two ravens fighting on the top of a houſe, and though he was attended, on account of his dignity, by great numbers of people, a ſtone which one of the ravens threw down, fell cloſe by his foot. This ſtaggered the boldeſt of his partizans. But Bloſſius* of Cumæ, one of his train, ſaid, "It would be an inſupportable diſgrace, if Tiberius the ſon of Gracchus, grandſon of Scipio Africanus, and protector of the people of Rome, ſhould, for fear of a raven, diſappoint that people when they called him to their aſſiſtance. His enemies, he aſſured him, would not be ſatisfied with laughing at this falſe ſtep; they would repreſent him to the commons as already taking all the inſolence of a tyrant upon him."

At the ſame time ſeveral meſſengers from his friends in the capitol, came and deſired him to make haſte, for (they told him) every thing went there according to his wiſh.

At firſt, indeed, there was a moſt promiſſing appearance. When the aſſembly ſaw him at a diſtance, they expreſſed their joy in the loudeſt acclamations; on his approach they received him with the utmoſt cordiality, and formed a circle about him, to keep all ſtrangers off. Mutius then began to call over the tribes, in order to buſineſs; but nothing could be done in the uſual form, by reaſon of the diſturbance made by the populace, who were ſtill preſſing forward. Mean time, Fulvius † Flaccus, a ſenator, got upon an eminence, and knowing he could not be heard, made a ſign with his hand, that he had ſomething to ſay to Tiberius in private. Tiberius having ordered the people to make way, Flaccus with much difficulty got to him, and informed,

* In the printed text it is Blaſtus; but one of the manuſcripts gives us Bloſſius, and all the tranſlators have followed it.

† Not *Flavius*, as it is in the printed text.

informed him, "That thofe of the landed intereft had "applied to the conful, while the fenate was fitting, and, "as they could not bring that magiftrate into their views, "they had refolved to defpatch Tiberius themfelves, and "for that purpofe had armed a number of their friends and "flaves."

Tiberius no fooner communicated this intelligence to thofe about him, than they tucked up their gowns, feized the halberts with which the ferjeants kept off the crowd, broke them, and took the pieces, to ward againft any affault that might be made. Such as were at a diftance, much furprifed at this incident, afked what the reafon might be; and Tiberius finding they could not hear him, touched his head with his hand, to fignify the danger he was in. His adverfaries feeing this, ran to the fenate, and informed them that Tiberius demanded the diadem; alleging that gefture as a proof of it.

This raifed a great commotion. Nafica called upon the conful to defend the commonwealth, and deftroy the tyrant. The conful mildly anfwered, "That he would not begin "to ufe violence, nor would he put any citizen to death "who was not legally condemned; but, if Tiberius fhould "either perfuade or force the people to decree any thing "contrary to the conftitution, he would take care to annul "it." Upon which, Nafica ftarted up, and faid, "Since "the conful gives up his country, let all who choofe to "fupport the laws follow me." So faying, he covered his head with the fkirt of his robe, and then advanced to the capitol. Thofe who followed him, wrapped each his gown about his hand and made their way through the crowd. Indeed, on account of their fuperior quality, they met with no refiftance; on the contrary, the people trampled on one another to get out of their way. Their attendants had brought clubs and bludgeons with them from home, and the patricians themfelves feized the feet of the benches which the populace had broken in their flight. Thus armed, they made towards Tiberius; knocking down fuch as ftood before him. Thefe being killed or difperfed, Tiberius likewife fled. One of his enemies laid hold on his gown; but he let it go, and continued his flight in his under-garment. He happened, however, to ftumble and fall upon fome of the killed. As he was recovering himfelf, Publius Satureius, one of his colleagues, came up openly, and ftruck him on the head with the foot of a ftool.

The

The ſecond blow was given him by Lucius Rufus, who afterwards valued himſelf upon it as a glorious exploit. Above three hundred more loſt their lives by clubs and ſtones, but not a man by the ſword.

This is ſaid to have been the firſt ſedition in Rome, ſince the expulſion of the kings, in which the blood of any citizen was ſhed. All the reſt, though neither ſmall in themſelves, nor about matters of little conſequence, were appeaſed by mutual conceſſions; the ſenate giving up ſomething, on one ſide, for fear of the people, and the people, on the other, out of reſpect for the ſenate. Had Tiberius been moderately dealt with, it is probable that he would have compromiſed matters in a much eaſier way; and certainly he might have been reduced, without their depriving him of his life; for he had not above three thouſand men about him. But, it ſeems, the conſpiracy was formed againſt him, rather to ſatisfy the reſentment and malignity of the rich, than for the reaſons they held out to the public. A ſtrong proof of this we have in their cruel and abominable treatment of his dead body. For, notwithſtanding the entreaties of his brother, they would not permit him to take away the corpſe, and bury it in the night, but threw it into the river with the other carcaſes. Nor was this all: they baniſhed ſome of his friends without form of trial, and took others and put them to death. Among the latter was Diophanes the rhetorician. One Caius Billius they ſhut up in a caſk with vipers and other ſerpents, and left him to periſh in that cruel manner. As for Bloſſius of Cumæ, he was carried before the conſuls, and being interrogated about the late proceedings, he declared, that he had never failed to execute whatever Tiberius commanded*. "What then," ſaid Naſica, "if Tiberius had ordered thee to burn the "capitol, wouldſt thou have done it?" At firſt he turned it off, and ſaid, "Tiberius would never have given him "ſuch

* Lælius, in the treatiſe written by Cicero under that name, gives a different account of the matter. "Bloſſius," he ſays, "after the "murder of Tiberius, came to him, whilſt he was in conference "with the conſuls Popilius Lænas, and Publius Rupilius. and earn- "eſtly begged for a pardon, alleging in his defence, that, ſuch was "his veneration for Tiberius, he could not refuſe to do any thing he "deſired." "If then," ſaid Lælius, "he had ordered you to ſet fire "to the capitol, would you have done it?" "That," replied Bloſſius, "he would never have ordered me to do; but if he had, I ſhould "have obeyed him." Bloſſius does not, upon this occaſion, appear to have been under a judicial examination, as Plutarch repreſents him.

"ſuch an order." But when a number repeated the ſame queſtion ſeveral times, he ſaid, "In that caſe I ſhould have "thought it extremely right; for Tiberius would never "have laid ſuch a command upon me, if it had not been "for the advantage of the people of Rome." He eſcaped, however, with his life, and afterwards repaired to Ariſtonicus* in Aſia; but finding that prince's affairs entirely ruined, he laid violent hands on himſelf.

The ſenate now deſirous to reconcile the people to theſe acts of theirs, no longer oppoſed the Agrarian law; and they permitted them to elect another commiſſioner, in the room of Tiberius, for dividing the lands. In conſequence of which, they choſe Publius Craſſus, a relation of the Gracchi; for Caius Gracchus had married his daughter Licinia. Cornelius Nepos, indeed, ſays, it was not the daughter of Craſſus, but of that Brutus who was honoured with a triumph for his conqueſts in Luſitania; but moſt hiſtorians give it for the former.

Nevertheleſs, the people were ſtill much concerned at the loſs of Tiberius, and it was plain that they only waited for an opportunity of revenge. Naſica was now threatened with an impeachment. The ſenate, therefore, dreading the conſequence, ſent him into Aſia, though there was no need of him there. For the people, whenever they met him, did not ſuppreſs their reſentment in the leaſt: on the contrary, with all the violence that hatred could ſuggeſt, they called him an execrable wretch, a tyrant who had defiled the holieſt and moſt awful temple in Rome with the blood of a magiſtrate, whoſe perſon ought to have been ſacred and inviolable.

For this reaſon Naſica privately quitted Italy, though by his office he was obliged to attend the principal ſacrifices, for he was chief pontiff. Thus he wandered from place to place in a foreign country, and after a while died at Pergamus. Nor is it to be wondered that the people had ſo unconquerable an averſion to Naſica, ſince Scipio Africanus himſelf, who ſeems to have been one of the greateſt

* Ariſtonicus was a baſtard brother of Attalus; and being highly offended at him for bequeathing his kingdom to the Romans, he attempted to get poſſeſſion of it by arms, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral towns. The Romans ſent Craſſus the conſul againſt him, the ſecond year after the death of Tiberius. Craſſus was defeated and taken by Ariſtonicus. The year following, Ariſtonicus was defeated in his turn, and taken priſoner by Perpenna.

greateſt favourites of the Romans, as well as to have had great right to their affection, was near forfeiting all the kind regards of the people, becauſe when the news of Tiberius's death was brought to Numantia, he expreſſed himſelf in that verſe of Homer,

> So periſh all that in ſuch crimes engage*.

Afterwards Caius and Fulvius aſked him in an aſſembly of the people, what he thought of the death of Tiberius, and by his anſwer he gave them to underſtand that he was far from approving of his proceedings. Ever after this, the commons interrupted him when he ſpoke in public, though they had offered him no ſuch affront before; and on the other hand, he ſcrupled not to treat them with very ſevere language. But theſe things we have related at large in the life of Scipio.

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## CAIUS GRACCHUS.

WHETHER it was that Caius Gracchus was afraid of his enemies, or wanted to make them more obnoxious to the people, at firſt he left the *forum*, and kept cloſe in his own houſe; like one who was either ſenſible how much his family was reduced, or who intended to make public buſineſs no more his object. Inſomuch that ſome ſcrupled not to affirm that he diſapproved and even deteſted his brother's adminiſtration. He was, indeed, as yet very young, not being ſo old as Tiberius by nine years; and Tiberius at his death was not quite thirty. However, in a ſhort time it appeared that he had an averſion, not only to idleneſs and effeminacy, but to intemperance and avarice. And he improved his powers of oratory, as if he conſidered them as the wings on which he muſt riſe to the great offices of ſtate. Theſe circumſtances ſhewed that he would not long continue inactive.

In the defence of one of his friends named Vettius, he exerted ſo much eloquence, that the people were charmed beyond expreſſion, and borne away with all the tranſports of enthuſiaſm. On this occaſion he ſhewed that other orators were no more than children in compariſon. The nobility

* In Minerva's ſpeech to Jupiter. Odyſ. lib. 1.

nobility had all their former apprehenſions renewed, and they began to take meaſures among themſelves to prevent the advancement of Caius to the tribunitial power.

It happened to fall to his lot to attend Oreſtes* the conſul in Sardinia in capacity of quæſtor. This gave his enemies great pleaſure. Caius, however, was not uneaſy on the event; for he was of a military turn, and had as good talents for the camp as for the bar. Beſides, he was under ſome apprehenſion about taking a ſhare in the administration, or of appearing upon the *roſtra*, and at the ſame time he knew that he could not reſiſt the importunities of the people or his friends. For theſe reaſons he thought himſelf happy in the opportunity of going abroad.

It is a common opinion, that of his own accord he became a violent demagogue, and that he was much more ſtudious than Tiberius to make himſelf popular. But that is not the truth. On the contrary, it ſeems to have been rather neceſſity than choice, that brought him upon the public ſtage. For Cicero the orator relates, that when Caius avoided all offices in the ſtate, and had taken a reſolution to live perfectly quiet, his brother appeared to him in a dream, and thus addreſſed him, "Why lingereſt thou, "Caius? There is no alternative. The fates have de- "creed us both the ſame purſuit of life, and the ſame "death, in vindicating the rights of the people."

In Sardinia, Caius gave a noble ſpecimen of every virtue, diſtinguiſhing himſelf greatly among the other young Romans, not only in his operations againſt the enemy, and in acts of juſtice to ſuch as ſubmitted, but in his reſpectful and obliging behaviour to the general. In temperance, in ſimplicity of diet, and love of labour he excelled even the veterans.

There followed a ſevere and ſickly winter in Sardinia, and the general demanded of the cities clothing for his men. But they ſent a deputation to Rome to ſolicit an exemption from this burthen. The ſenate liſtened to their requeſt, and ordered the general to take ſome other method. As he could not think of withdrawing his demands, and the ſoldiers ſuffered much in the mean time, Caius applied to the towns in perſon, and prevailed with them to ſend the Romans

* Lucius Aurelius Oreſtes was conſul with Emilius Lepidus the year of Rome 627. So that Caius went quæſtor into Sardinia a the age of 27.

Romans a voluntary ſupply of clothing. News of this being brought to Rome, and the whole looking like a prelude to future attempts at popularity, the ſenate were greatly diſturbed at it. Another inſtance they gave of their jealouſy, was in the ill reception which the ambaſſadors of Micipſa found, who came to acquaint them, that the king their maſter, out of regard to Caius Gracchus, had ſent their general in Sardinia a large quantity of corn. The ambaſſadors were turned out of the houſe; and the ſenate proceeded to make a decree that the private men in Sardinia ſhould be relieved, but that Oreſtes ſhould remain, in order that he might keep his quæſtor with him. An account of this being brought to Caius, his anger overcame him ſo far, that he embarked; and as he made his appearance in Rome when none expected him, he was not only cenſured by his enemies, but the people in general thought it ſingular, that the quæſtor ſhould return before his general. An information was laid againſt him before the cenſors, and he obtained permiſſion to ſpeak for himſelf: which he did ſo effectually, that the whole court changed their opinions, and were perſuaded that he was very much injured. For he told them, "He had ſerved twelve campaigns, whereas he was not obliged to ſerve more than ten; and that in capacity of quæſtor, he had attended his general three years *, though the laws did not require him to do it more than one." He added, "That he was the only man who went out with a full purſe, and returned with an empty one; while others, after having drank the wine they carried out, brought back the veſſels filled with gold and ſilver."

After this, they brought other charges againſt him. They accuſed him of promoting diſaffection among the allies, and of being concerned in the conſpiracy of Fregellæ †, which was detected about that time. He cleared himſelf, however, of all ſuſpicion; and having fully proved his innocence, offered himſelf to the people as a candidate for the tribuneſhip. The patricians united their forces to oppoſe him; but ſuch a number of people came in from all parts of Italy to ſupport his election, that many of them could

* Great part of this ſpeech is preſerved by Aulus Gellius; but there Caius ſays he had been quæſtor only two years. *Biennium enim fui in provincia.* Aul. Gell. l. xii. c. 15.

† This place was deſtroyed by Lucius Opimius the prætor, in the year of Rome 629.

could not get lodging, and the *Campus Martius* not being large enough to contain them, gave their voices from the tops of houſes.

All that the nobility could gain of the people, and all the mortification that Caius had, was this: inſtead of being returned firſt, as he had flattered himſelf he ſhould be, he was returned the fourth. But when he had entered upon his office, he ſoon became the leading tribune, partly by means of his eloquence, in which he was greatly ſuperior to the reſt, and partly on account of the misfortunes of his family, which gave him opportunity to bewail the cruel fate of his brother. For whatever ſubject he began upon, before he had done, he led the people back to that idea, and at the ſame time put them in mind of the different behaviour of their anceſtors. "Your foreſathers," ſaid he, "declared war againſt the Faliſci, in order to revenge the "cauſe of Genucius, one of their tribunes, to whom that "people had given ſcurrilous language; and they thought "capital puniſhment little enough for Caius Vetturius, be-"cauſe he alone did not break way for a tribune who was "paſſing through the *forum*. But you ſuffered Tiberius to "be deſpatched with bludgeons before your eyes, and his "dead body to be dragged from the capitol through the "middle of the city, in order to be thrown into the river. "Such of his friends, too, as fell into their hands, were "put to death without form of trial. Yet, by the cuſtom "of our country, if any perſon under a proſecution for a "capital crime, did not appear, an officer was ſent to his "door in the morning, to ſummon him by ſound of "trumpet, and the judges would never paſs ſentence before "ſo public a citation. So tender were our anceſtors in any "matter where the life of a citizen was concerned."

Having prepared the people by ſuch ſpeeches as this (for his voice was ſtrong enough to be heard by ſo great a multitude) he propoſed two laws. One was, "That if the "people depoſed any magiſtrate, he ſhould from that time "be incapable of bearing any public office:" The other, "That if any magiſtrate ſhould baniſh a citizen without a "legal trial, the people ſhould be authorized to take cog-"nizance of that offence." The firſt of theſe laws plainly referred to Marcus Octavius, whom Tiberius had deprived of the tribuneſhip; and the ſecond to Popilius, who, in his prætorſhip, had baniſhed the friends of Tiberius. In conſequence of the latter, Popilius, afraid to ſtand a trial, fled

out

out of Italy. The other bill Caius dropped, to oblige, as he said, his mother Cornelia, who interpofed in behalf of Octavius. The people were perfectly fatisfied; for they honoured Cornelia, not only on account of her children, but of her father. They afterwards erected a ftatue to her with this infcription,

CORNELIA THE MOTHER OF THE GRACCHI.

There are feveral extraordinary expreffions of Caius Gracchus handed down to us concerning his mother. To one of her enemies he faid, "Dareft thou pretend to reflect "on Cornelia the mother of Tiberius?" And as that perfon had fpent his youth in an infamous manner, he faid, "With what front canft thou put thyfelf upon a footing "with Cornelia? Haft thou brought children as fhe has "done? Yet all Rome knows that fhe has lived longer than "thou haft without any commerce with men." Such was the keennefs of his language; and many expreffions equally fevere might be collected out of his writings.

Among the laws which he procured, to increafe the authority of the people, and leffen that of the fenate, one related to colonizing, and dividing the public lands among the poor. Another was in favour of the army, who were now to be clothed at the public charge, without diminution of their pay, and none were to ferve till they were full feventeen years old. A third was for the benefit of the Italian allies, who were to have the fame right of voting at elections as the citizens of Rome. By a fourth the markets were regulated, and the poor enabled to buy breadcorn at a cheaper rate. A fifth related to the courts of judicature, and indeed contributed more than any thing to retrench the power of the fenate. For, before this, fenators only were judges in all caufes, and on that account their body was formidable both to the equeftrian order and to the people. But now he added three hundred knights to the three hundred fenators, and decreed that a judicial authority fhould be equally infefted in the fix hundred*. In offering this bill, he exerted himfelf greatly in all refpects, but

* The authorities of all antiquity are againft Plutarch in this article. Caius did not affociate the knights and the fenators in the judicial power; but vefted that power in the knights only, and they enjoyed it, till the confulfhip of Servilius Cæpio, for the fpace of fixteen or feventeen years. Velleius, Afconius, Appian, Livy, and Cicero himfelf, fufficiently prove this.

but there was one thing very remarkable: whereas the orators before him, in all addreſſes to the people, ſtood with their faces towards the ſenate-houſe and the *comitium*, he then for the firſt time, turned the other way, that is to ſay, towards the *forum*, and continued to ſpeak in that poſition ever after. Thus, by a ſmall alteration in the poſture of his body, he indicated ſomething very great, and, as it were, turned the government from an ariſtocracy into a democratic form. For, by this action, he intimated, that all orators ought to addreſs themſelves to the people, and not to the ſenate.

As the people not only ratified this law, but impowered him to ſelect the three hundred out of the equeſtrian order for judges, he found himſelf in a manner poſſeſſed of ſovereign power. Even the ſenate in their deliberations were willing to liſten to his advice; and he never gave them any that was not ſuitable to their dignity. That wiſe and moderate decree, for inſtance, was of his ſuggeſting, concerning the corn which Fabius, when *proprætor* in Spain, ſent from that country. Caius perſuaded the ſenate to ſell the corn, and ſend the money to the Spaniſh ſtates; and at the ſame time to cenſure Fabius for rendering the Roman government odious and inſupportable to the people of that country. This gained him great reſpect and favour in the provinces.

He procured other decrees for ſending out colonies, for making roads, and for building public granaries. In all theſe matters he was appointed ſupreme director, and yet was far from thinking ſo much buſineſs a fatigue. On the contrary, he applied to the whole with as much activity, and deſpatched it with as much eaſe, as if there had been only one thing for him to attend to: inſomuch, that they who both hated and feared the man, were ſtruck with his amazing induſtry, and the celerity of his operations. The people were charmed to ſee him followed by ſuch numbers of architects, artificers, ambaſſadors, magiſtrates, military men, and men of letters. Theſe were all kindly received; yet amidſt his civilities he preſerved a dignity, addreſſing each according to his capacity and ſtation: by which he ſhewed how unjuſt the cenſures of thoſe people were, who repreſented him as a violent and overbearing man. For he had even a more popular manner in converſation and in buſineſs, than in his addreſſes from the *roſtrum*.

 The

The work that he took moſt pains with, was that of the public roads; in which he paid a regard to beauty as well as uſe. They were drawn in a ſtraight line through the country, and either paved with hewn ſtone, or made of a binding ſand, brought thither for that purpoſe. When he met with dells or other deep holes made by land-floods, he either filled them up with rubbiſh, or laid bridges over them; ſo that being levelled and brought to a perfect parallel on both ſides, they afforded a regular and elegant proſpect through the whole. Beſides, he divided all the roads into miles, of near eight furlongs each, and ſet up pillars of ſtone to mark the diviſions. He likewiſe erected other ſtones at proper diſtances on each ſide of the way, to aſſiſt travellers, who rode without ſervants, to mount their horſes.

The people extolled his performances, and there was no inſtance of their affection that he might not have expected. In one of his ſpeeches he told them, "There was one "thing in particular, which he ſhould eſteem as a greater "favour than all the reſt, if they indulged him in it, and "if they denied it, he would not complain." By this it was imagined that he meant the conſulſhip; and the commons expected that he would deſire to be conſul and tribune at the ſame time. When the day of election of conſuls came, and all were waiting with anxiety to ſee what declaration he would make, he conducted Caius Fannius into the *campus martius*, and joined with his friends in the canvaſs. This greatly inclined the ſcale on Fannius's ſide, and he was immediately created conſul. Caius too, without the leaſt application, or even declaring himſelf a candidate, merely through the zeal and affection of the people, was appointed tribune the ſecond time.

Finding, however, that the ſenate avowed their averſion to him, and that the regards of Fannius grew cold, he thought of new laws which might ſecure the people in his intereſt. Such were thoſe for ſending colonies to Terentum and Capua, and for granting the Latins all the rights and privileges of citizens of Rome. The ſenate now apprehending that his power would ſoon become entirely uncontroulable, took a new and unheard-of method to draw the people from him, by gratifying them in every thing, however contrary to the true intereſts of the ſtate.

Among the colleagues of Caius Gracchus, there was one named Livius Druſus; a man who in birth and educa-

tion was not behind any of the Romans, and who in point of eloquence and wealth might vie with the greateſt and moſt powerful men of his time. To him the nobility applied; exhorting him to ſet himſelf up againſt Caius, and join them in oppoſing him; not in the way of force, or in any thing that might offend the commons, but in directing all his meaſures to pleaſe them, and granting them things, which it would have been an honour to refuſe at the hazard of their utmoſt reſentment.

Druſus agreed to liſt in the ſervice of the ſenate, and to apply all the power of his office to their views. He therefore propoſed laws, which had nothing in them either honourable or advantageous to the community. His ſole view was to outdo Caius in flattering and pleaſing the multitude, and for this purpoſe he contended with him, like a comedian upon a ſtage. Thus the ſenate plainly diſcovered, that it was not ſo much the meaſures of Caius, as the man they were offended with, and that they were reſolved to take every method to humble or deſtroy him. For when he procured a decree for ſending out two colonies only, which were to conſiſt of ſome of the moſt deſerving citizens, they accuſed him of ingratiating himſelf by undue methods with the plebeians. But when Druſus ſent out twelve, and ſelected three hundred of the meaneſt of the people for each, they patronized the whole ſcheme. When Caius divided the public lands among the poor citizens, on condition that they ſhould pay a ſmall rent into the treaſury, they inveighed againſt him as a flatterer of the populace; but Druſus had their praiſe for diſcharging the lands even of that acknowledgment. Caius procured the Latins the privilege of voting as citizens of Rome, and the patricians were offended; Druſus, on the contrary, was ſupported by them in a law, for exempting the Latin ſoldiers from being flogged, though upon ſervice, for any miſdemeanor. Mean time Druſus aſſerted, in all his ſpeeches, that the ſenate, in their great regard for the commons, put him upon propoſing ſuch advantageous decrees. This was the only good thing in his manœuvres; for by theſe arts the people became better affected to the ſenate. Before, they had ſuſpected and hated the leaders of that body; but Druſus appeaſed their reſentment, and removed their averſion, by aſſuring them, that the patricians were the firſt movers of all theſe popular laws.

What contributed moſt to ſatiſfy the people as to the ſincerity of his regard, and the purity of his intentions,

was, that Drufus, in all his edicts, appeared not to have the leaft view to his own intereft. For he employed others as commiffioners for planting the new colonies; and if there was an affair of money, he would have no concern with it himfelf; whereas Caius chofe to prefide in the greateft and moft important matters of that kind. Rubrius, one of his colleagues, having procured an order for rebuilding and colonizing Carthage, which had been deftroyed by Scipio, it fell to the lot of Caius to execute that commiffion, and in purfuance thereof he failed to Africa. Drufus took advantage of his abfence to gain more ground upon him, and to eftablifh himfelf in the favour of the people. To lay an information againft Fulvius he thought would be very conducive to this end.

Fulvius was a particular friend of Caius, and his affiftant in the diftribution of the lands. At the fame time he was a factious man, and known to be upon ill terms with the fenate. Others, befide the patricians, fufpected him of raifing commotions among the allies, and of privately exciting the Italians to a revolt. Thefe things, indeed, were faid without evidence or proof; but Fulvius himfelf gave ftrength to the report by his unpeaceable and unfalutary conduct. Caius, as his acquaintance, came in for his fhare of the diflike, and this was one of the principal things that brought on his ruin.

Befides, when Scipio Africanus died without any previous ficknefs, and (as we have obferved in his life) there appeared marks of violence upon his body, moft people laid it to the charge of Fulvius, who was his avowed enemy, and had that very day abufed him from the *roftrum*. Nor was Caius himfelf unfufpected. Yet fo execrable a crime as this, committed againft the firft and greateft man in Rome, efcaped with impunity; nay, it was not even inquired into. For the people prevented any cognizance of it from being taken, out of fear for Caius, left upon a ftrict inquifition he fhould be found acceffary to the murder. But this happened fome time before.

While Caius was employed in Africa in the re-eftablifhment of Carthage, the name of which he changed to *Junonia* *, he was interrupted by feveral inaufpicious omens. The ftaff of the firft ftandard was broken, between the violent efforts of the wind to tear it away, and thofe of the enfign

* Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
Pofthabitâ coluiffe famo.——— VIRGIL.

ensign to hold it. Another storm of wind blew the sacrifices from the altars, and bore them beyond the bounds marked out for the city; and the wolves came and seized the marks themselves, and carried them to a great distance. Caius, however, brought every thing under good regulations in the space of seventy days, and then returned to Rome, where he understood that Fulvius was hard pressed by Drusus, and affairs demanded his presence. For, Lucius Opimius *, who was of the patrician party, and very powerful in the senate, had lately been unsuccessful in his application for the consulship, through the opposition of Caius, and his support of Fannius; but now his interest was greatly strengthened, and it was thought he would be chosen the following year. It was expected too, that the consulship would enable him to ruin Caius, whose interest was already upon the decline. Indeed, by this time the people were cloyed with indulgence; because there were many beside Caius, who flattered them in all the measures of administration, and the senate saw them do it with pleasure.

At his return, he removed his lodgings from the Palatine mount, to the neighbourhood of the *forum*: In which he had a view to popularity; for many of the meanest and most indigent of the commonalty dwelt there. After this, he proposed the rest of his laws, in order to their being ratified by the suffrages of the people. As the populace came to him from all quarters, the senate persuaded the consul Fannius to command all persons to depart the city who were not Romans by birth. Upon this strange and unusual proclamation, that none of the allies or friends of the republic should remain in Rome, or, though citizens, be permitted to vote, Caius, in his turn, published articles of impeachment against the consul, and at the same time declared, he would protect the allies, if they would stay. He did not, however, perform his promise. On the contrary, he suffered the consul's *lictors* to take away a person before his eyes, who was connected with him by the ties of hospitality, without giving him the least assistance: whether it was that he feared to shew how much his strength was diminished, or whether (as he alleged) he did not choose



* In the printed text it is *Hostilius*, but it should be *Opimius*: for he was consul the year following with Q. Fabius Maximus, which was the year of Rome 631. Plutarch himself calls him *Opimius* a little after. *Hostilius*, therefore, must be a false reading; and, indeed, one of the manuscripts gives us *Opimius* here.

to give his enemies occaſion to have recourſe to the ſword, who only ſought a pretence for it.

He happened, moreover, to be at variance with his colleagues. The reaſon was this: there was a ſhew of gladiators to be exhibited to the people in the *forum*, and moſt of the magiſtrates had cauſed ſcaffolds to be erected around the place, in order to let them out for hire. Caius inſiſted that they ſhould be taken down, that the poor might ſee the exhibition without paying for it. As none of the proprietors regarded his orders, he waited till the night preceding the ſhew, and then went with his own workmen, and demoliſhed the ſcaffolds. Next day the populace ſaw the place quite clear of them, and of courſe they admired him as a man of ſuperior ſpirit. But his colleagues were greatly offended at his violent temper and meaſures. This ſeems to have been the cauſe of his miſcarriage in his application for a third tribuneſhip; for, it ſeems, he had a majority of voices, but his colleagues are ſaid to have procured a fraudulent and unjuſt return. Be that as it may (for it was a matter of ſome doubt), it is certain that he did not bear his diſappointment with patience; but when he ſaw his adverſaries laugh, he told them, with too much inſolence, "Their laugh was of the ſardonic * kind, for "they did not perceive how much their actions were "eclipſed by his"

After Opimius was elected conſul, he prepared to repeal many of Caius's laws, and to annul his eſtabliſhment at Carthage, on purpoſe to provoke him to ſome act of violence, and to gain an opportunity to deſtroy him. He bore this treatment for ſome time; but afterwards, at the inſtigation of his friends, and of Fulvius in particular, he began to raiſe an oppoſition once more againſt the conſul. Some ſay, his mother on this occaſion entered into the intrigues of the party, and having privately taken ſome ſtrangers into pay, ſent them into Rome in the diſguiſe of reapers; and they aſſert that theſe things are enigmatically hinted

* It was not eaſy to ſee the propriety of this expreſſion as it is uſed here. The ſardonic laugh was an involuntary diſtention of the muſcles of the mouth, occaſioned by a poiſonous plant; and perſons that died of this poiſon had a ſmile on their countenances. Hence it came to ſignify forced or affected laughter; but why the laughter of Gracchus's opponents ſhould be called forced or ſardonic, becauſe they did not perceive his ſuperiority, it does not appear. It might more properly have been called affected if they did perceive it. Indeed, if every ſpecies of unreaſonable laughing may be called ſardonic, it will do ſtill.

hinted at in her letters to her son. But others say, Cornelia was much displeased at these measures.

When the day came, on which Opimius was to get those laws repealed, both parties early in the morning posted themselves in the capitol; and after the consul had sacrificed, Quintus Antyllius, one of his *lictors*, who was carrying out the entrails of the victims, said to Fulvius and his friends, "Stand off, ye factious citizens, and make way "for honest men." Some add, that, along with this scurrilous language, he stretched his naked arm towards them in a form that expressed the utmost contempt. They immediately killed Antyllius with long styles, said to have been made for such a purpose.

The people were much chagrined at this act of violence. As for the two chiefs, they made very different reflections upon the event. Caius was concerned at it, and reproached his partizans with having given their enemies the handle they long had wanted. Opimius rejoiced at the opportunity, and excited the people to revenge. But for the present they were parted by a heavy rain.

At an early hour next day, the consul assembled the senate, and while he was addressing them within, others exposed the corpse of Antyllius naked, on a bier without, and, as it had been previously concerted, carried it through the *forum* to the senate-house, making loud acclamations all the way. Opimius knew the whole farce, but pretended to be much surprised. The senate went out, and planting themselves about the corpse, expressed their grief and indignation, as if some dreadful misfortune had befallen them. This scene, however, excited only hatred and detestation in the breasts of the people, who could not but remember that the nobility had killed Tiberius Gracchus in the capitol, though a tribune, and thrown his body into the river; and yet now, when Antyllius, a vile serjeant, who possibly did not deserve quite so severe a punishment, but by his impertinence had brought upon himself—when such a hireling lay exposed in the *forum*, the senate of Rome stood weeping about him, and then attended the wretch to his funeral; with no other view than to procure the death of the only remaining protector of the people.

On their return to the house, they charged Opimius the consul, by a formal decree, to take every possible method for the preservation of the commonwealth, and the destruction of the tyrants. He therefore ordered the patricians to

arms, and each of the knights to attend with two ſervants well-armed the next morning. Fulvius, on the other hand, prepared himſelf, and drew together a crowd of people.

Caius, as he returned from the *forum*, ſtood a long time looking upon his father's ſtatue, and after having given vent to his ſorrow in ſome ſighs and tears, retired without uttering a word. Many of the plebeians, who ſaw this, were moved with compaſſion; and declaring they ſhould be the moſt daſtardly of beings, if they abandoned ſuch a man to his enemies, repaired to his houſe to guard him, and paſſed the night before his door. This they did in a very different manner from the people who attended Fulvius on the ſame occaſion. Theſe paſſed their time in noiſe and riot, in carouſing and empty threats; Fulvius himſelf being the firſt man that was intoxicated, and giving into many expreſſions and actions unſuitable to his years. But thoſe about Caius were ſilent, as in a time of public calamity; and, with a thoughtful regard to what was yet to come, they kept watch and took reſt by turns.

Fulvius ſlept ſo ſound after his wine, that it was with difficulty they awoke him at break of day. Then he and his company armed themſelves with the Gallic ſpoils which he had brought off in his conſulſhip, upon his conquering that people; and thus accoutred they ſallied out, with loud menaces, to ſeize the Aventine hill. As for Caius, he would not arm, but went out in his gown, as if he had been going upon buſineſs in the *forum*; only he had a ſmall dagger under it.

At the gate, his wife threw herſelf at his feet, and taking hold of him with one hand, and of her ſon with the other, ſhe thus expreſſed herſelf:—" You do not now leave me, " my dear Caius, as formerly to go to the *roſtra*, in capa- " city of tribune or lawgiver, nor do I ſend you out " to a glorious war, where, if the common lot fell to your " ſhare, my diſtreſs might at leaſt have the conſolation of " honour. You expoſe yourſelf to the murderers of " Tiberius, unarmed indeed, as a man ſhould go, who " had rather ſuffer than commit any violence; but it is " throwing away your life without any advantage to the " community. Faction reigns; ourage and the ſword are " the only meaſures of juſtice. Had your brother fallen " before Numantia, the truce would have reſtored us his " body; but now perhaps I ſhall have to go a ſuppliant to " ſome river or the ſea, to be ſhewn where your remains " may

"may be found. For what confidence can we have either "in the laws or in the gods after the aſſaſſination of "Tiberius?"

When Licinia had poured out theſe lamentations, Caius diſengaged himſelf as quietly as he could from her arms, and walked on with his friends in deep ſilence. She catched at his gown, but in the attempt fell to the ground, and lay a long time ſpeechleſs. At laſt her ſervants ſeeing her in that condition, took her up, and carried her to her brother Craſſus.

Fulvius, when all the party was aſſembled, liſtened to the advice of Caius, and ſent his younger ſon into the *forum*, equipped like an herald*. He was a youth of moſt engaging appearance, and he approached with great modeſty and tears in his eyes, to propoſe terms of accommodation to the conſul and the ſenate. Many were diſpoſed to hearken to the propoſal; but Opimius ſaid, "The criminals ought not to treat by heralds, but come "in perſon to make their ſubmiſſion to the ſenate, and "ſurrender themſelves to juſtice, before they interceded "for mercy." At the ſame time, he bade the young man return with an account that theſe conditions were complied with, or not return at all.

Caius was of opinion that they ſhould go and endeavour to reconcile themſelves to the ſenate. But as none of the reſt acceded to that opinion, Fulvius ſent his ſon again with propoſitions much the ſame. Opimius, who was in haſte to begin hoſtilities, immediately took the young man into cuſtody, and marched againſt Fulvius with a numerous body of infantry, and a company of Cretan archers. The latter galled their adverſaries much, and put them in ſuch confuſion that they took to flight. Fulvius hid himſelf in an old neglected bath, where he was ſoon found and put to the ſword, together with his eldeſt ſon. Caius was not ſeen to lift his hand in the fray. On the contrary, he expreſſed the greateſt uneaſineſs at their coming to ſuch extremities, and retired into the temple of Diana. There he would have deſpatched himſelf, but was hindered by Pomponius and Licinius, the moſt faithful of his friends, who took away his poignard, and perſuaded him to try the alternative of flight. On this occaſion he is ſaid to have kneeled down, and with uplifted hands to have prayed to the



* Literally, with a caduceus, *or herald's wand in his hand.*

the Deity of that Temple, "That the people of Rome, for "their ingratitude and base desertion of him, might "be slaves for ever." Indeed, most of them, on promise of impunity by proclamation, openly went over to the other party.

The enemy pursued Caius with great eagerness, and came up with him at the wooden-bridge. His two friends bidding him go forward, planted themselves before it, and suffered no man to pass till they were overpowered and slain. One of his servants, named Philocrates, accompanied Caius in his flight All encouraged him to make the best of his way, as they do a runner in the lists, but not one assisted him, or offered him a horse, though he desired it, for they saw the enemy now almost upon him *. He got, however, a little before them into a grove sacred to the *furies* †, and there closed the scene; Philocrates first despatched him, and afterwards himself. Some, indeed, say, that they both came alive into the enemy's hands, and that the slave clung so close to his master, that they could not come to the one, till they had cut the other in pieces. We are told also, that after a person, whose name is not mentioned, had cut off the head of Caius, and was bearing away his prize, Septimuleius, one of ‡ Opimius's friends, took it from him: for at the beginning of the action, the weight in gold had been offered by proclamation either for his head, or for that of Fulvius. Septimuleius carried it to Opimius upon the point of a pike; and when put in the scales, it was found to weigh seventeen pounds eight ounces. For Septimuleius had added fraud to his other villanies; he had taken out the brain, and filled the cavity with molten lead. Those who brought in the head of Fulvius, being persons of no note, had no reward at all.

The bodies of Caius and Fulvius, and the rest of the slain, who were no fewer than three thousand, were thrown into the river. Their goods were confiscated and sold, and their wives forbidden to go into mourning. Licinia was, moreover,

* Aurelius Victor mentions two of Caius's friends who stopped the pursuit of the enemy; Pomponius, at the *Porta Trigemina*, and Lætorius, at the *Pons Sublicius*.

† This grove was called *Lucus Furinæ*, and was near the *Pons Sublicius*. The goddess had a high priest called *Flamin Furinalis*, and annual sacrifices. Verro de Ling. l. v.

‡ Pliny and Valerius Maximus say, he was an intimate acquaintance of Gracchus's.

moreover, deprived of her dowry. The most savage cruelty was exercised upon the younger son of Fulvius, who had never borne arms against them, nor appeared among the combatants, but was imprisoned when he came with proposals of peace, and put to death after the battle. But neither this, nor any other instance of despotism, so sensibly touched the people, as Opimius's building a temple to CONCORD. For by that he appeared to claim honour for what he had done, and in some sort to triumph in the destruction of so many citizens. Somebody, therefore, in the night, wrote this line under the inscription on the temple,

Madness and Discord rear the fane of Concord.

Opimius was the first consul who usurped the power of a dictator, and condemned three thousand citizens without any form of justice, beside Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus; though one of them had been honoured with the consulship and a triumph, and the other both in virtue and reputation was superior to all the men of his time.

Opimius was vile enough to suffer himself to be corrupted with money. Going afterwards ambassador to Jugurtha the Numidian, he took a bribe; and being called to account for it at his return, in a judicial way, he had the mortification to grow old with that infamy upon him. At the same time, he was hated and execrated by the commons, who through his means had been reduced to an abject condition. In a little time those commons shewed how deeply they regretted the Gracchi. They erected their statues in one of the most public parts of the city; they consecrated the places where they were killed, and offered to them all first-fruits according to the season of the year. Nay, many offered daily sacrifices, and paid their devotions there, as in the temples of the gods.

Cornelia is reported to have borne all these misfortunes with a noble magnanimity, and to have said of the consecrated places in particular, where her sons lost their lives, "That they were monuments worthy of them." She took up her residence at Misenum, and made no alteration in her manner of living. As she had many friends, her table was always open for the purposes of hospitality. Greeks and other men of letters she had always with her, and all the kings in alliance with Rome expressed their regard by sending her presents, and receiving the like civilities in return. She made herself very agreeable to her guests by

acquainting them with many particulars of her father Africanus, and of his manner of living. But what they moſt admired in her, was, that ſhe could ſpeak of her ſons without a ſigh or a tear, and recount their actions and ſufferings, as if ſhe had been giving a narrative of ſome ancient heroes. Some, therefore, imagined, that age and the greatneſs of her misfortunes had deprived her of her underſtanding and ſenſibility. But thoſe who were of that opinion ſeem rather to have wanted underſtanding themſelves; ſince they knew not how much a noble mind may, by a liberal education, be enabled to ſupport itſelf againſt diſtreſs; and that though in the purſuit of rectitude, Fortune may often defeat the purpoſes of VIRTUE, yet VIRTUE in bearing affliction can never loſe her prerogative*.

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## AGIS AND CLEOMENES

### COMPARED WITH

## TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS.

THUS we have given the hiſtory of theſe great men ſeverally, and it remains that we take a view of them in compariſon with each other. Thoſe who hated the Gracchi, and endeavoured the moſt to diſparage them, never durſt deny, that of all the Romans of their time nature had diſpoſed them moſt happily to virtue, or that this diſpoſition was cultivated by the moſt excellent education. But nature appears to have done ſtill more for Agis and Cleomenes; for though they not only wanted the advantages of education, but were trained to ſuch manners and

* Και ὁτι της αρετης ἡ τυχη φυλαττομενοις μεν τα καλα πολλακις περιεςιν, εν δε τω πταισαι τοφερειν ευλογιςως ȣ παραιτειται. The learned Du Soul here propoſes to read φυλαττομενης inſtead of φυλαττομενοις, and κακα for καλα. There are, indeed, ſome manuſcript authorities for thoſe readings and the paſſage is capable of a good ſenſe if we accept them, viz. *And that though Virtue in ſtriving to avoid affliction may be often overborne by Fortune*, &c. But we think the contraſt ſufficiently preſerved without altering the printed text. The learned annotator will have φυλαττομαι here to ſignify *vito*; and that is certainly often the ſignification. But ſometimes it ſignifies *obſervo*, as appears from the following paſſage in Heſiod, ἠματα δ' εκ Διοθεν πεφυλαγμενος.

and cuſtoms as had corrupted many before them; yet they became examples of temperance and ſobriety.

Beſides, the Gracchi lived at a time when Rome was in her greateſt glory; a time that was diſtinguiſhed by a virtuous emulation; and of courſe they muſt have had a natural averſion to give up the inheritance of virtue which they had received from their anceſtors. Whereas Agis and Cleomenes had parents of very different principles, and found their country in a very diſeaſed and unhappy ſtate; and yet theſe things did not in the leaſt abate their ardour in the purſuits of honour.

We have a ſtrong proof of the diſintereſted views of the Gracchi, and their averſion to avarice, in their keeping themſelves clear of all iniquitous practices in the whole courſe of their adminiſtration. But Agis might even have reſented it, if any one had commended him for not touching the property of others, ſince he diſtributed his whole ſubſtance among the citizens of Sparta, which, beſide other conſiderable articles, conſiſted of ſix hundred talents in money. What a crime then muſt unjuſt gain have appeared to him, who thought it nothing leſs than avarice, to poſſeſs more than others, though by the faireſt title?

If we conſider them with reſpect to the hardineſs of their enterpriſes, and the new regulations they wanted to eſtabliſh, we ſhall find the two Grecians greatly ſuperior. One of the two Romans applied himſelf principally to making roads and colonizing towns. The boldeſt attempt of Tiberius was the diſtribution of the public lands; and Caius did nothing more extraordinary than the joining an equal number of the equeſtrian order in commiſſion with the three hundred patrician judges.

The alterations which Agis and Cleomenes brought into the ſyſtem of their commonwealth, were of a different nature. They ſaw that a ſmall and partial amendment was no better, as Plato expreſſes it, than the cutting off one of the Hydra's heads*; and therefore they introduced a change that might remove all the diſtempers of the conſtitution at once. Perhaps we may expreſs ourſelves with more propriety, if we ſay, that, by removing the changes that had cauſed all their misfortunes, they brought Sparta back to its firſt principles.

Poſſibly it may not be amiſs to add, that the meaſures the Gracchi adopted, were offenſive to the greateſt men in Rome;

* In the fourth book of the commonwealth.

Rome*; whereas, all that Agis meditated, and Cleomenes brought to bear, had the best and most respectable authorities to support it, I mean the sanction either of Lycurgus or Apollo.

What is still more considerable, by the political measures of the Gracchi, Rome made not the least acquisition of power or territory; whereas, through those of Cleomenes, Greece saw the Spartans in a little time become masters of Peloponnesus, and contending for superiority with the most powerful princes of that age: And this without any other view, than to deliver Greece from the incursions of the Illyrians and Gauls, and put her once more under the protection of the race of Hercules.

The different manner of the deaths of these great men, appears also to me to point out a difference in their characters. The Gracchi fought with their fellow-citizens, and, being defeated, perished in their flight. Agis, on the other hand, fell almost a voluntary sacrifice, rather than that any Spartan should lose his life on his account. Cleomenes, when insulted and oppressed, had recourse to vengeance; and, as circumstances did not favour him, had courage enough to give himself the fatal blow.

If we view them in another light, Agis never distinguished himself as a general; for he was killed before he had any opportunity of that kind: and with the many great and glorious victories of Cleomenes, we may compare the memorable exploit of Tiberius, in being the first to scale the walls of Carthage, and his saving twenty thousand Romans who had no other hope of life, by the peace which he happily concluded with the Numantians. As for Caius, there were many instances of his military talents both in the Numantian war, and in Sardinia. So that the two brothers would probably one day have been ranked with the greatest generals among the Romans, had they not come to an untimely death.

As to their political abilities, Agis seems to have wanted firmness and despatch. He suffered himself to be imposed upon by Agesilaus, and performed not his promise to the citizens

* Plutarch seems to censure the Agrarian law as an irrational one, and as the invention of the Gracchi. But, in fact, there was an Agrarian law among the institutions of Lycurgus; and the Gracchi were not the first promoters of such a law among the Romans. Spurius Cassius offered a bill of the same kind above two hundred years before, which proved equally fatal to him.

citizens of making a diſtribution of lands. He was, indeed, extremely young; and, on that account, had a timidity which prevented the completion of thoſe ſchemes that had ſo much raiſed the expectation of the public. Cleomenes, on the contrary, took too bold and too violent a method to effectuate the changes he had reſolved on in the police of Sparta. It was an act of injuſtice to put the *ephori* to death, whom he might either have brought over to his party by force, becauſe he was ſuperior in arms, or elſe have baniſhed, as he did many others. For, to have recourſe to the knife, except in caſes of extreme neceſſity, indicates neither the good phyſician, nor the able ſtateſman, but unſkilfulneſs in both. Beſides, in politics, that ignorance is always attended with injuſtice and cruelty. But neither of the Gracchi began the civil war, or dipped his hands in the blood of his countrymen. Caius, we are told, even when attacked, did not repel force with force; and, though none behaved with greater courage and vigour than he in other wars, none was ſo ſlow to lift up his hand againſt a fellow-citizen. He went out unarmed to a ſcene of fury and ſedition; when the fight began, he retired; and, through the whole, appeared more ſolicitous to avoid the doing of harm, than the receiving it. The flight, therefore, of the Gracchi muſt not be conſidered as an act of cowardice, but patriotic diſcretion. For they were under a neceſſity either of taking the method they did, or of fighting in their own defence if they ſtayed.

The ſtrongeſt charge againſt Tiberius is, that he depoſed his colleague, and ſued for a ſecond tribuneſhip. Caius was blamed for the death of Antyllius; but againſt all reaſon and juſtice; for the fact was committed without his approbation, and he looked upon it as a moſt unhappy circumſtance. On the other hand, Cleomenes, not to mention any more, his deſtroying the *ephori*, took an unconſtitutional ſtep in enfranchiſing all the ſlaves; and, in reality, he reigned alone, though, to ſave appearances, he took in his brother Euclidas as a partner in the throne, who was not of the other family that claimed a right to give one of the kings to Sparta. Archidamus, who was of that family, and had as much right to the throne, he perſuaded to return from Meſſene. In conſequence of this he was aſſaſſinated; and, as Cleomenes made no inquiry into the murder, it is probable that he was juſtly cenſured as the cauſe of it. Whereas, Lycurgus, whom he pretended to

take

take as his pattern, freely ſurrendered to his nephew Charilaus, the kingdom committed to his charge; and that he might not be blamed in caſe of his untimely death, he went abroad and wandered a long time in foreign countries; nor did he return till Charilaus had a ſon to ſucceed him in the throne. It is true, Greece had not produced any other man who can be compared to Lycurgus.

We have ſhewn that Cleomenes, in the courſe of his government, brought in greater innovations, and committed more violent acts of injuſtice. And thoſe that are inclined to cenſure the perſons of whom we are writing, repreſent Cleomenes as, from the firſt, of a tyrannical diſpoſition, and a lover of war. The Gracchi they accuſe of immoderate ambition, malignity itſelf not being able to find any other flaw in them. At the ſame time they acknowledge, that thoſe tribunes might poſſibly be carried beyond the dictates of their native diſpoſition by anger, and the heat of contention, which, like ſo many hurricanes, drove them at laſt upon ſome extremes in their adminiſtration. What could be more juſt or meritorious than their firſt deſign, to which they would have adhered, had not the rich and great, by the violent methods they took to abrogate their law, involved them both in thoſe fatal quarrels; the one to defend himſelf, and the other to revenge his brother, who was taken off without any form of law or juſtice?

From theſe obſervations, you may eaſily perceive the difference between them; and, if you required me to characterize each of them ſingly, I ſhould ſay that the palm of virtue belongs to Tiberius; young Agis had the feweſt faults; and Caius, in point of courage and ſpirit of enterpriſe, was little inferior to Cleomenes.

DEMOSTHENES.

# DEMOSTHENES.

WHOEVER it was, my Sossius, that wrote the encomium upon Alcibiades for his victory in the chariot-race at the Olympic games; whether Euripides, (which is the common opinion) or some other, he asserts, that "The first requisite to happiness, is, that a man be "born in a famous city." But, as to real happiness, which consists principally in the disposition and habit of the mind, for my part, I think it would make no difference though a man should be born in an inconsiderable town, or of a mother who had no advantages either of size or beauty: for it is ridiculous to suppose that Julis, a small town in the isle of Ceos, which is itself not great, and Ægina, which an Athenian "wanted to have taken away, "as an eye-sore to the Pyræus," should give birth to good poets and players*, and not be able to produce a man who might attain the virtues of justice, of contentment, and of magnanimity. Indeed, those arts, which are to gain the master of them considerable profit or honour, may probably not flourish in mean and insignificant towns. But virtue, like a strong and hardy plant, will take root in any place, where it can find an ingenuous nature, and a mind that has no aversion to labour and discipline. Therefore, if our sentiments or conduct fall short of the point they ought to reach, we must not impute it to the obscurity of the place where we were born, but to our little selves.

These reflections, however, extend not to an author, who would write a history of events which happened in a foreign country, and cannot be come at in his own. As he has his materials to collect from a variety of books dispersed in different libraries, his first care should be to take up his residence in some populous town which has an ambition for literature. There he will meet with many curious and valuable books; and the particulars that are wanting in writers, he may, upon inquiry, be supplied with by those who have laid them up in the faithful repository of memory. This will prevent his work from being defective in any material point. As to myself, I live in a little town, and

* The poet Simonides was of Ceos; and Polus the actor was of Ægina.

and I choose to live there, left it should become still less. When I was in Rome, and other parts of Italy, I had not leisure to study the Latin tongue, on account of the public commissions with which I was charged, and the number of people that came to be instructed by me in philosophy. It was not, therefore, till a late period in life, that I began to read the Roman authors. The process may seem strange; and yet it is very true. I did not so much gain the knowledge of things by the words, as words by the knowledge I had of things. I shall only add, that, to attain such a skill in the language, as to be master of the beauty and fluency of its expressions, with its figures, its harmony, and all the other graces of its structure, would indeed be an elegant and agreeable accomplishment. But the practice and pains it requires, are more than I have time for, and I must leave the ambition to excel in that walk to younger men.

In this book, which is the fifth of our parallels, we intend to give the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero, and from their actions and political conduct, we shall collect and compare their manners and disposition; but, for the reason already assigned, we shall not pretend to examine their orations, or to determine which of them was the more agreeable speaker. For, as Ion says,

> What's the gay dolphin when he quits the waves,
> And bounds upon the shore?

Cæcilius *, a writer at all times much too presumptuous, paid little regard to that maxim of the poet's, when he so boldly attempted a comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero. But perhaps the precept, *Know thyself*, would not be considered as divine, if every man could easily reduce it to practice.

It seems to me that Demosthenes and Cicero were originally formed by nature in the same mould, so great is the resemblance in their disposition. The same ambition, the same love of liberty, appears in their whole administration, and the same timidity amidst wars and dangers. Nor did they less resemble each other in their fortunes. For I think it is impossible to find two other orators, who raised themselves from obscure beginnings to such authority and power; who both opposed kings and tyrants; who both lost their daughters;

* Cæcilius was a celebrated rhetorician, who lived in the time of Augustus. He wrote a treatise on the sublime, which is mentioned by Longinus.

daughters; were banished their country, and returned with honour; were forced to fly again; were taken by their enemies, and at last expired the same hour with the liberties of their country. So that, if nature and fortune, like two artificers, were to descend upon the scene, and dispute about their work, it would be difficult to decide whether the former had produced a greater resemblance in their dispositions, or the latter in the circumstances of their lives. We shall begin with the more ancient.

Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes, was one of the principal citizens of Athens. Theopompus tells us, he was called the *sword-cutler*, because he employed a great number of slaves in that business. As to what Æschines the orator relates concerning his mother *, that she was the daughter of one Gylon †, who was forced to fly for treason against the commonwealth, and of a barbarian woman, we cannot take upon us to say whether it was dictated by truth, or by falsehood and malignity. He had a large fortune left him by his father, who died when he was only seven years of age; the whole being estimated at little less than fifteen talents. But he was greatly wronged by his guardians, who converted part to their own use, and suffered part to lie neglected. Nay, they were vile enough to defraud his tutors of their salaries. This was the chief reason that he had not those advantages of education to which his quality entitled him. His mother did not choose that he should be put to hard and laborious exercises, on account of the weakness and delicacy of his frame; and his preceptors, being ill paid, did not press him to attend them. Indeed, from the first he was of a slender and sickly habit, insomuch that the boys are said to have given him the contemptuous name of *Batalus* ‡ for his natural defects. Some say, Batalus was an effeminate musician, whom Antiphanes ridiculed in one of his farces; others, that he was a poet, whose verses were of the most wanton and licentious kind.

* In his oration against Ctesiphon.

† Gylon was accused of betraying to the enemy a town in Pontus called Nymphæum; upon which he fled into Scythia, where he married a native of the country, and had two daughters by her; one of whom was married to Philochares, and the other, named Cleobule, to Demosthenes. Her fortune was fifty *minæ*; and of this marriage came Demosthenes the orator.

‡ Hesychius gives a different explanation of the word *Batalus*; but Plutarch must be allowed, though Dacier will not here allow him, to understand the sense of the Greek word as well as Hesychius.

kind. The Athenians, too, at that time, ſeem to have called a part of the body *Batalus*, which decency forbids us to name. We are told, that Demoſthenes had likewiſe the name of *Argas*, either on account of the ſavage and moroſe turn of his behaviour; for there is a ſort of a ſerpent which ſome of the poets call *Argas* *; or elſe for the ſeverity of his expreſſions, which often gave his hearers pain; for there was a poet named *Argas*, whoſe verſes were very keen and ſatirical. But enough of this article.

His ambition to ſpeak in public is ſaid to have taken its riſe on this occaſion. The orator Calliſtratus was to plead in the cauſe which the city of Oropus † had depending; and the expectation of the public was greatly raiſed both by the powers of the orator, which were then in the higheſt repute, and by the importance of the trial. Demoſthenes hearing the governors and tutors agree among themſelves to attend the trial, with much importunity prevailed on his maſter to take him to hear the pleadings. The maſter having ſome acquaintance with the officers who opened the court, got his young pupil a ſeat where he could hear the orators without being ſeen. Calliſtratus had great ſucceſs, and his abilities were extremely admired. Demoſthenes was fired with a ſpirit of emulation. When he ſaw with what diſtinction the orator was conducted home, and complimented by the people, he was ſtruck ſtill more with the power of that commanding eloquence, which could carry all before it. From this time, therefore, he bade adieu to the other ſtudies and exerciſes in which boys are engaged, and applied himſelf with great aſſiduity to declaiming, in hopes of being one day numbered among the orators. Iſæus was the man he made uſe of as his preceptor in eloquence, though Iſocrates then taught it; whether it was that the loſs of his father incapacitated him to pay the ſum of ten *minæ* ‡, which was that rhetorician's uſual price, or whether

* Hippocrates too mentions a ſerpent of that name.

† Oropus was a town on the banks of the Euripus, on the frontiers of Attica. The Thebans, though they had been relieved in their diſtreſs by Chabrias and the Athenians, forgot their former ſervices, and took Oropus from them. Chabrias was ſuſpected of treachery, and Calliſtratus, the orator, was retained to plead againſt him. Demoſthenes mentions this in his oration againſt Phidias. At the time of this trial, he was about ſixteen.

‡ This could not be the reaſon, if what is recorded in the life of Iſæus be true, that he was retained as tutor to Demoſthenes at the price of a hundred *minæ*.

whether he preferred the keen and ſubtle manner of Iſæus, as more fit for public uſe.

Hermippus ſays he met with an account in certain anonymous memoirs, that Demoſthenes likewiſe ſtudied under Plato *, and received great aſſiſtance from him in preparing to ſpeak in public. He adds, that Cteſibius uſed to ſay, that Demoſthenes was privately ſupplied, by Callias the Syracuſan, and ſome others, with the ſyſtems of rhetoric taught by Iſocrates and Alcidamus, and made his advantage of them.

When his minority was expired, he called his guardians to account at law, and wrote orations againſt them. As they found many methods of chicane and delay, he had great opportunity, as Thucydides ſays, to exerciſe his talent for the bar †. It was not without much pains and ſome riſk that he gained his cauſe; and, at laſt, it was but a very ſmall part of his patrimony that he could recover. By this means, however, he acquired a proper aſſurance, and ſome experience; and, having taſted the honour and power that go in the train of eloquence, he attempted to ſpeak in the public debates, and take a ſhare in the adminiſtration. As it is ſaid of Laomedon the Orchomenian, that, by the advice of his phyſicians, in ſome diſorder of the ſpleen, he applied himſelf to running, and continued it conſtantly a great length of way, till he had gained ſuch excellent health and breath, that he tried for the crown at the public games, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the long courſe: So it happened to Demoſthenes, that he firſt appeared at the bar for the recovery of his own fortune, which had been ſo much embezzled; and having acquired in that cauſe

* This is confirmed by Cicero in his Brutus. *Lectitaviſſe Platonem ſtudioſe, audiviſſe etiam Demoſthenes dicitur: Idque apparet ex genere et granditate verborum.* Again in his book *de Oratore: Quod idem de Demoſthene exiſtimari poteſt, cujus ex epiſtolis intelligi licet quam frequens fuerit Platonis auditor.* It is poſſible that Cicero in this place alludes to that letter of Demoſthenes addreſſed to Heracliodoras, in which he thus ſpeaks of Plato's philoſophy. "Since you have eſpouſed the doctrine "of Plato, which is ſo diſtant from avarice, from artifice, and vio-"lence;—a doctrine whoſe object is the perfection of goodneſs and "juſtice! Immortal gods! when once a man has adopted this doc-"trine, is it poſſible he ſhould deviate from truth, or entertain one "ſelfiſh or ungenerous ſentiment?"

† He loſt his father at the age of ſeven; and he was ten years in the hands of guardians. He, therefore, began to plead in his eighteenth year, which, as it was only in his own private affairs, was not forbidden by the laws.

caufe a perfuafive and powerful manner of fpeaking, he contefted the crown, as I may call it, with the other orators before the general affembly.

However, in his firft addrefs to the people, he was laughed at, and interrupted by their clamours; for the violence of his manner threw him into a confufion of periods, and a diftortion of his argument. Befides, he had a weaknefs and a ftammering in his voice, and a want of breath, which caufed fuch a diftraction in his difcourfe, that it was difficult for the audience to underftand him. At laft, upon his quitting the affembly Eunomus the Thriafian, a man now extremely old, found him wandering in a dejected condition in the Piræus, and took upon him to fet him right. "You," faid he, "have a manner of "fpeaking very like that of Pericles; and yet you lofe "yourfelf out of mere timidity and cowardice. You "neither bear up againft the tumults of a popular affem-"bly, nor prepare your body by exercife for the labour "of the *roftrum*, but fuffer your parts to wither away in "negligence and indolence."

Another time, we are told, when his fpeeches had been ill received, and he was going home with his head covered, and in the greateft diftrefs, Satyrus the player, who was an acquaintance of his, followed, and went in with him. Demofthenes lamented to him, "That, though he was "the moft laborious of all the orators, and had almoft "facrificed his health to that application, yet he could "gain no favour with the people; but drunken feamen, "and other unlettered perfons were heard, and kept the "*roftrum*, while he was entirely difregarded *." "You "fay true," anfwered Satyrus; "but I will foon provide a "remedy, if you will repeat to me fome fpeech in Euripides "or Sophocles." When Demofthenes had done, Satyrus pronounced the fame fpeech; and he did it with fuch propriety of action, and fo much in character, that it appeared to the orator quite a different paffage. He now underftood fo well how much grace and dignity action adds to the beft oration, that he thought it a fmall matter to premeditate and compofe, though with the utmoft care, if the pronunciation and propriety of gefture were not attended to. Upon this, he built himfelf a fubterraneous ftudy, which

* This was the privilege of all democratic ftates. Some think, that by feamen, he means Demades, whofe profeffion was that of a mariner.

which remained to our times. Thither he repaired every day, to form his action, and exercise his voice; and he would often stay there for two or three months together; shaving one side of his head, that, if he should happen to be ever so desirous of going abroad, the shame of appearing in that condition might keep him in.

When he did go out upon a visit, or received one, he would take something that passed in conversation, some business or fact that was reported to him, for a subject to exercise himself upon. As soon as he had parted from his friends, he went to his study, where he repeated the matter in order as it passed, together with the arguments for and against it. The substance of the speeches which he heard, he committed to memory, and afterwards reduced them to regular sentences and periods *, meditating a variety of corrections and new forms of expression, both for what others had said to him, and he had addressed to them. Hence it was concluded that he was not a man of much genius; and that all his eloquence was the effect of labour. A strong proof of this seemed to be, that he was seldom heard to speak any thing *extempore*, and though the people often called upon him by name, as he sat in the assembly, to speak to the point debated, he would not do it unless he came prepared. For this, many of the orators ridiculed him; and Pytheas, in particular, told him, "That all "his arguments smelled of the lamp." Demosthenes retorted sharply upon him, "Yes, indeed; but your lamp "and mine, my friend, are not conscious to the same "labours." To others he did not pretend to deny his previous application, but told them, "He neither wrote "the whole of his orations, nor spoke without first com-"mitting part to writing." He farther affirmed, "That "this shewed him a good member of a democratic state; "for the coming prepared to the *rostrum*, was a mark of "respect for the people. Whereas, to be regardless of "what the people might think of a man's address, shewed "his inclination for oligarchy; and that he had rather "gain his point by force than by persuasion." Another proof they give us of his want of confidence on any sudden occasion, is, that when he happened to be put in disorder by the tumultuary behaviour of the people, Demades often rose

* Cicero did the same, as we find in his epistles to Atticus. These arguments he calls *Thesis politicæ*.

rose up to support him in an *extempore* address; but he never did the same for Demades.

Wherefore, then, it may be said, did Æschines call him an orator of the most admirable assurance? How could he stand up alone and refute Python the Byzantian *, whose eloquence poured against the Athenians like a torrent? And when Lamachus the Myrrhenean † pronounced at the Olympic games an encomium which he had written upon Philip and Alexander; and in which he had asserted many severe and reproachful things against the Thebans and Olynthians, how could Demosthenes rise up and prove, by a ready deduction of facts, the many benefits for which Greece was indebted to the Thebans and Chalsidians, and the many evils that the flatterers of the Macedonians had brought upon their country? This, too, wrought such a change in the minds of the great audience, that the sophist, his antagonist, apprehending a tumult, stole out of the assembly.

Upon the whole, it appears that Demosthenes did not take Pericles entirely for his model. He only adopted his action and delivery, and his prudent resolution not to make a practice of speaking from a sudden impulse, or on any occasion that might present itself; being persuaded, that it was to that conduct he owed his greatness. Yet, while he chose not often to trust the success of his powers to fortune, he did not absolutely neglect the reputation which may be acquired by speaking on a sudden occasion. And, if we believe Eratosthenes, Demetrius the Phalerian, and the comic poets, there was a great spirit and boldness in his unpremeditated orations, than in those he had committed to writing. Eratosthenes says, that, in his extemporaneous harangues,

* This was one of the most glorious circumstances in the life of Demosthenes. The fate of his country, in a great measure, depended on his eloquence. After Flatea was lost, and Philip threatened to march against Athens, the Athenians applied for succours to the Bœotians. When the league was established, and the troops assembled at Chæronea, Philip sent ambassadors to the council of Bœotia, the chief of whom was Python, one of the ablest orators of his time. When he had inveighed with all the powers of eloquence against the Athenians and their cause, Demosthenes answered him, and carried the point in their favour. He was so elevated with this victory, that he mentions it in one of his orations in almost the same terms that Plutarch has used here.

† If we suppose this Lamachus to have been of Attica, the text should be altered from *Myrrhenean* to *Myrrhinusian*; for *Myrrhinus* was a borough of Attica. But there was a town called Myrrhine in Æolia, and another in Lemnos, and probably Lamachus was of one of these.

harangues, he often ſpoke as from a ſupernatural impulſe; and Demetrius tells us, that, in an addreſs to the people, like a man inſpired, he once uttered this oath in verſe,

By earth, by all her fountains, ſtreams, and floods.

One of the comic writers calls him *Rhopoperperethras* *, and another, ridiculing his frequent uſe of the antitheſis, ſays, "As he took, ſo he retook." For Demoſthenes affected to uſe that expreſſion. Poſſibly, Antiphanes played upon that paſſage in the oration concerning the iſle of Haloneſus, in which Demoſthenes adviſed the Athenians "not to take, "but to retake it from Philip †.

It was agreed, however, on all hands, that Demades excelled all the orators, when he truſted to nature only; and that his ſudden effuſions were ſuperior to the laboured ſpeeches of Demoſthenes. Ariſto of Chios gives us the following account of the opinion of Theophraſtus concerning theſe orators. Being aſked in what light he looked upon Demoſthenes as an orator, he ſaid, "I think him worthy "of Athens:" what of Demades, "I think him above it." The ſame philoſopher relates of Polyeuctus the Sphettian, who was one of the principal perſons in the Athenian adminiſtration at that time, that he called "Demoſthenes the "greateſt orator, and Phocion the moſt powerful ſpeaker;" becauſe the latter compriſed a great deal of ſenſe in a few words. To the ſame purpoſe, we are told, that Demoſthenes himſelf, whenever Phocion got up to oppoſe him, uſed to ſay to his friends, "Here comes the pruning-hook "of my periods." It is uncertain, indeed, whether Demoſthenes referred to Phocion's manner of ſpeaking, or to his life and character. The latter might be the caſe, becauſe he knew that a word or a nod from a man of ſuperior character, is more regarded than the long diſcourſes of another.

As for his perſonal defects, Demetrius the Phalerian, gives us an account of the remedies he applied to them; and he ſays he had it from Demoſthenes in his old age. The heſitation and ſtammering of his tongue, he corrected by

* *A haberdaſher of ſmall wares*, or ſomething like it.

† There is an expreſſion ſomething like what Plutarch has quoted, about the beginning of that oration. Libanius ſuſpects the whole of that oration to be ſpurious; but this raillery of the poet on Demoſthenes, ſeems to prove that it was of his hand.

by practifing to fpeak with pebbles in his mouth; and he ftrengthened his voice by running or walking up hill, and pronouncing fome paffage in an oration or a poem, during the difficulty of breath which that caufed. He had, moreover, a looking-glafs in his houfe, before which he ufed to declaim, and adjuft all his motions.

It is faid, that a man came to him one day, and defired him to be his advocate againft a perfon from whom he had fuffered by affault. "Not you, indeed," faid Demofthenes, "you have fuffered no fuch thing." "What!" faid the man, raifing his voice, "have I not received "thofe blows?" "Ay, now," replied Demofthenes, "you do fpeak like a perfon that has been injured." So much, in his opinion, do the tone of voice and the action contribute to gain the fpeaker credit in what he affirms.

His action pleafed the commonalty much; but people of tafte, (among whom was Demetrius the Phalerean) thought there was fomething in it low, inelegant, and unmanly. Hermippus acquaints us, that Æfion being afked his opinion of the ancient orators, and thofe of that time, faid, "Whoever has heard the orators of former "times, muft admire the decorum and dignity with which "they fpoke. Yet when we read the orations of Demof- "thenes, we muft allow they have more art in the compo- "fition, and greater force." It is needlefs to mention, that, in his written orations, there was fomething extremely cutting and fevere; but, in his fudden repartees, there was alfo fomething of humour *. When Demades faid, "Demofthenes to me! a fow to Minerva;" our orator made anfwer, "This Minerva was found the other day "playing the whore in Colyttus." When a rafcal, furnamed *Chalchus*†, attempted to jeft upon his late ftudies and long watchings, he faid, "I know my lamp offends "thee. But you need not wonder, my countrymen, that "we have fo many robberies, when we have thieves of "brafs, and walls only of clay." Though more of his fayings might be produced, we fhall pafs them over, and go on to feek the reft of his manners and character in his actions and political conduct.

He

* Longinus will not allow him the leaft excellence in matters of humour or pleafantry. Cap. xxviii.

† That is, *Brafs*.

He tells us himſelf, that he entered upon public buſineſs in the time of the Phocian war *; and the ſame may be collected from his Philippics. For ſome of the laſt of them were delivered after that war was finiſhed; and the former relate to the immediate tranſactions of it. It appears alſo, that he was two and thirty years old, when he was preparing his oration againſt Midias; and yet, at that time, he had attained no name or power in the adminiſtration. This, indeed, ſeems to be the reaſon of his dropping the proſecution for a ſum of money. For,

——— no prayer, no moving art
E'er bent that fierce, inexorable heart. POPE.

He was vindictive in his nature, and implacable in his reſentments. He ſaw it a difficult thing, and out of the reach of his intereſt, to pull down a man ſo well ſupported on all ſides, as Midias, by wealth and friends; and therefore he liſtened to the application in his behalf. Had he ſeen any hopes or poſſibility of cruſhing his enemy, I cannot think that three thouſand *drachmas* could have diſarmed his anger.

He had a glorious ſubject for his political ambition, to defend the cauſe of Greece againſt Philip. He defended it like a champion worthy of ſuch a charge, and ſoon gained great reputation both for eloquence and for the bold truths which he ſpoke. He was admired in Greece, and courted by the king of Perſia. Nay, Philip himſelf had a much higher opinion of him than the other orators; and his enemies acknowledged that they had to contend with a great man. For Æſchines and Hyperides, in their very accuſations, give him ſuch a character.

I wonder, therefore, how Theopompus could ſay that he was a man of no ſteadineſs, who was never long pleaſed either with the ſame perſons or things. For, on the contrary, it appears, that he abode by the party and the meaſures which he firſt adopted; and was ſo far from quitting them during his life, that he forfeited his life, rather than he would forſake them. Demades, to excuſe the inconſiſtency of his public character, uſed to ſay, "I "may have aſſerted things contrary to my former ſenti-"ments, but not any thing contrary to the true intereſt "of



* In the one hundred and ſixth olympiad, five hundred and thirty three years before the Chriſtian æra. Demoſthenes was then in his twenty-ſeventh year.

" of the commonwealth." Melanopus, who was of the oppoſite party to Calliſtratus, often ſuffered himſelf to be bought off, and then ſaid, by way of apology, to the people, " It is true, the man is my enemy, but the public " good is an over-ruling conſideration." And Nicodemus the Meſſenian, who firſt appeared ſtrong in the intereſt of Caſſander, and afterwards in that of Demetrius, ſaid, " He " did not contradict himſelf, for it was always the beſt way " to liſten to the ſtrongeſt." But we have nothing of that kind to allege againſt Demoſthenes. He was never a time-ſerver either in his words or actions. The key of politics, which he firſt touched, he kept to without variation.

Panætius, the philoſopher, aſſerts, that moſt of his orations are written upon this principle, that virtue is to be choſen for her own ſake only; that, for inſtance, *of the crown*, that *againſt* Ariſtocrates, that *for the immunities*, and the *Philippics*. In all theſe orations, he does not exhort his countrymen to that which is moſt agreeable, or eaſy, or advantageous; but points out honour and propriety as the firſt objects, and leaves the ſafety of the ſtate as a matter of inferior conſideration. So that, if, beſide that noble ambition which animated his meaſures, and the generous turn of his addreſſes to the people, he had been bleſt with the courage that war demands, and had kept his hands clean of bribes, he would not have been numbered with ſuch orators as Mirocles, Polyeuctus and Hyperides, but have deſerved to be placed in a higher ſphere with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles.

Among thoſe who took the reins of government, after him *, Phocion, though not of the party in moſt eſteem, I mean that which ſeemed to favour the Macedonians; yet, on account of his probity and valour, did not appear at all inferior to Ephialtes, Ariſtides, and Cimon. But Demoſthenes had neither the courage that could be truſted in the field, nor was he (as Demetrius expreſſes it ſufficiently fortified

* Των γȣν μετ᾽ αυτον, ſeems as if it would do, with the little paraphraſe we have given it; for Phocion did certainly hold the reins of government when Demoſthenes was no more. At the ſame time we muſt obſerve, that ſome inſiſt that the emendation of Wolfius, των γȣν κατ᾽ αυτον, ſhould take place, becauſe Phocion was cotemporary to Demoſthenes; and becauſe Plutarch ſays afterwards, τȣς γε καθ᾽ αυτον ρητορας, εξω δε λογȣ, τιθεμαι φωκιωνα, και τω βιω παρηλθε.

fortified againſt the impreſſions of money. Though he bore up againſt the aſſaults of corruption from Philip and the Macedonians, yet he was taken by the gold of Suſa and Ecbatana. So that he was much better qualified to recommend, than to imitate, the virtues of our anceſtors. It muſt be acknowledged, however, that he excelled all the orators of his time, except Phocion, in his life and converſation. And we find in his orations, that he told the people the boldeſt truths, that he oppoſed their inclinations, and corrected their errors with the greateſt ſpirit and freedom. Theopompus alſo acquaints us, that, when the Athenians were for having him manager of a certain impeachment, and inſiſted upon it in a tumultuary manner, he would not comply, but roſe up and ſaid, "My friends, "I will be your counſellor, whether you will or no; but "a falſe accuſer I will not be, how much ſoever you may "wiſh it." His behaviour in the caſe of Antipho, was of the ariſtocratic caſt *. The people had acquitted him in the general aſſembly; and yet he carried him before the *areopagus*; where, without regarding the offence it might give the people, he proved that he had promiſed Philip to burn the arſenal; upon which, he was condemned by the council, and put to death. He likewiſe accuſed the prieſteſs Theoris of ſeveral miſdemeanours; and, among the reſt, of her teaching the ſlaves many arts of impoſition. Such crimes, he inſiſted, were capital; and ſhe was delivered over to the executioner.

Demoſthenes is ſaid to have written the oration for Apollodorus, by which he carried his cauſe againſt the general Timotheus, in an action of debt to the public treaſury; as alſo thoſe others againſt Phormio and Stephanus †; which was a juſt exception againſt his character. For he compoſed the oration which Phormio had pronounced againſt Apollodorus. This, therefore, was like furniſhing two enemies with weapons out of the ſame ſhop to fight one another. He wrote ſome public orations for others, before he had any concern in the adminiſtration himſelf, namely, thoſe againſt Androtion, Timocrates and Ariſtocrates. For it appears that he was only twenty-ſeven or twenty-eight



* See his oration *de Corona*.

† Dacier gives a quite contrary ſenſe, Inſtead of, *againſt Phormio*, he ſays, *for Phormio*, *pour Phormion*; though the Greek is τους προς Φορμιωνα. Probably he had a copy with a different reading, but he does not mention it.

years of age when he publiſhed thoſe orations. That againſt Ariſtogiton, and that for the *immunities*, he delivered himſelf, at the requeſt, as he ſays, of Cteſippus the ſon of Chabrias; though others tell us, it was becauſe he paid his addreſſes to the young man's mother. He did not, however, marry her; for his wife was a woman of Samos, as Demetrius the Magneſian informs us, in his account of perſons of the ſame name. It is uncertain, whether that againſt Æſchines, *for betraying his truſt as ambaſſader* *, was ever ſpoken; though Idomeneus affirms that Æſchines was acquitted only by thirty votes. This ſeems not to be true, at leaſt ſo far as may be conjectured from both their orations *concerning the crown*. For neither of them expreſsly mentions it as a cauſe that ever came to trial. But this is a point which we ſhall leave for others to decide.

Demoſthenes, through the whole courſe of his political conduct, left none of the actions of the king of Macedon undiſparaged. Even in time of peace, he laid hold on every opportunity to raiſe ſuſpicions againſt him among the Athenians, and to excite their reſentment. Hence, Philip looked upon him as a perſon of the greateſt importance in Athens; and when he went with nine other deputies to the court of that prince, after having given them all audience, he anſwered the ſpeech of Demoſthenes with greater care than the reſt. As to other marks of honour and reſpect, Demoſthenes had not an equal ſhare in them; they were beſtowed principally upon Æſchines and Philocrates. They, therefore, were large in the praiſe of Philip on all occaſions; and they inſiſted, in particular, on his eloquence, his beauty, and even his being able to drink a great quantity of liquor. Demoſthenes, who could not bear to hear him praiſed, turned theſe things off as trifles. "The firſt," he ſaid, "was the property of a ſophiſt, "the ſecond of a woman, and the third of a ſponge; and "not one of them could do any credit to a king."

Afterwards it appeared, that nothing was to be expected but war; for, on one hand, Philip knew not how to ſit down in tranquillity; and, on the other, Demoſthenes inflamed the Athenians. In this caſe, the firſt ſtep the orator took,

* In this oration, Demoſthenes accuſed Æſchines of many capital crimes committed in the embaſſy on which he was ſent to oblige Philip to ſwear to the articles of peace. Both that oration, and the anſwer of Æſchines, are ſtill extant.

took, was, to put the people upon ſending an armament to Eubœa, which was brought under the yoke of Philip by its petty tyrants. Accordingly he drew up an edict, in purſuance of which they paſſed over to that Peninſula, and drove out the Macedonians. His ſecond operation was the ſending ſuccours to the Byzantians and Perinthians, with whom Philip was at war. He perſuaded the people to drop their reſentment, to forget the faults which both thoſe nations had committed in the confederate war, and to ſend a body of troops to their aſſiſtance. They did ſo, and it ſaved them from ruin. After this, he went ambaſſador to the ſtates of Greece; and, by his animating addreſs, brought them almoſt all to join in the league againſt Philip. Beſide the troops of the ſeveral cities, they took an army of mercenaries, to the number of fifteen thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, into pay, and readily contributed to the charge. Theophraſtus tells us, that, when the allies deſired their contributions might be ſettled, Crobylus the orator anſwered, "That war could "not be brought to any ſet diet."

The eyes of all Greece were now upon theſe movements; and all were ſolicitous for the event. The cities of Eubœa, the Achæans, the Corinthians, the Megarenſians, the Leucadians, the Corcyræans, had each ſeverally engaged for themſelves againſt the Macedonians. Yet the greateſt work remained for Demoſthenes to do; which was to bring the Thebans over to the league. Their country bordered upon Attica; they had a great army on foot, and were then reckoned the beſt ſoldiers in Greece. But they had recent obligations to Philip in the Phocion war, and therefore it was not eaſy to draw them from him; eſpecially when they conſidered the frequent quarrels and acts of hoſtility in which their vicinity to Athens engaged them.

Meantime Philip, elated with his ſucceſs at Amphiſſa, ſurpriſed Elatea, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Phocis. The Athenians were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and not one of them durſt mount the *roſtrum*: No one knew what advice to give; but a melancholy ſilence reigned in the city. In this diſtreſs Demoſthenes alone ſtood forth, and propoſed, that application ſhould be made to the Thebans. He likewiſe animated the people in his uſual manner, and inſpired them with freſh hopes; in conſequence of which, he was ſent ambaſſador to Thebes, ſome others being joined in commiſſion with him. Philip too, on his part, as Maryas informs

informs us, ſent Amyntus and Clearchus, two Macedonians, Doachus the Theſſalian, and Thraſidæus the Elean*, to anſwer the Athenian deputies. The Thebans were not ignorant what way their true intereſt pointed; but each of them had the evils of war before his eyes; for their Phocian wounds were ſtill freſh upon them. However, the powers of the orator, as Theopompus tells us, rekindled their courage and ambition ſo effectually, that all other objects were diſregarded. They loſt ſight of fear, of caution, of every prior attachment, and, through the force of his eloquence, fell with enthuſiaſtic tranſports into the path of honour.

So powerful, indeed, were the efforts of the orator, that Philip immediately ſent ambaſſadors to Athens to apply for peace; Greece recovered her ſpirits, whilſt ſhe ſtood waiting for the event; and not only the Athenian generals, but the governors of Bœotia, were ready to execute the commands of Demoſthenes. All the aſſemblies, as well thoſe of Thebes, as thoſe of Athens, were under his direction: he was equally beloved, equally powerful in both places; and, as Theopompus ſhews, it was no more than his merit claimed. But the ſuperior power of fortune, which ſeems to have been working a revolution, and drawing the liberties of Greece to a period at that time, oppoſed and baffled all the meaſures that could be taken. The deity diſcovered many tokens of the approaching event. Among the reſt, the prieſteſs of Apollo delivered dreadful oracles; and an old prophecy from the Sibylline books was then much repeated.—

Far from Thermodon's banks, when, ſtain'd with blood,
Bœotia trembles o'er the crimſon flood,
On eagle-pinions let me pierce the ſky,
And ſee the vanquiſh'd weep, the victor die!

This Thermodon, they ſay, is a ſmall river in our country near Chæronea, which falls into the Cephiſus. At preſent we

* As the country of Amyntas and Clearchus is mentioned, ſo in all probability was that of the other ambaſſadors who were to act with them. The text, as it now ſtands, is Αμυνταν μεν και Κλεαρχον Μακεδονας, Δαοχον δε και Θεσσαλον και Θρασυδαιον. The και before Θεσσαλον, ſhould probably be taken away. As to Thraſydæus, we find in Plutarch's morals, that he was an Elean.

we know no river of that name; but we conjecture that the Hæmon which runs by the temple of Hercules, where the Greeks encamped, might then be called Thermodon; and the battle having filled it with blood and the bodies of the ſlain, it might, on that account, change its appellation. Duris, indeed, ſays, that Thermodon was not a river, but that ſome of the ſoldiers, as they were pitching their tents, and opening the trenches, found a ſmall ſtatue, with an inſcription, which ſignified, that the perſon repreſented was Thermodon holding a wounded Amazon in his arms. He adds, that there was another oracle on the ſubject, much taken notice of at that time.—

> ———Fell bird of Prey,
> Wait thou the plenteous harveſt which the ſword
> Will give thee on Thermodon.

But it is hard to ſay what truth there is in theſe accounts.

As to Demoſthenes, he is ſaid to have had ſuch confidence in the Grecian arms, and to have been ſo much elated with the courage and ſpirit of ſo many brave men calling for the enemy, that he would not ſuffer them to regard any oracles or prophecies. He told them, that he ſuſpected the propheteſs herſelf of *Philippizing*. He put the Thebans in mind of Epaminondas, and the Athenians of Pericles, how they reckoned ſuch things as mere pretexes of cowardice and purſued the plan which their reaſon had dictated. Thus far Demoſthenes acquitted himſelf like a man of ſpirit and honour. But in the battle, he performed nothing worthy of the glorious things he had ſpoken. He quitted his poſt; he threw away his arms; he fled in the moſt infamous manner; and was not aſhamed, as Pytheas ſays, to bely the inſcription which he had put upon his ſhield in golden characters, TO GOOD FORTUNE.

Immediately after the victory, Philip, in the elation of his heart, committed a thouſand exceſſes. He drank to intoxication, and danced over the dead, making a kind of ſong of the firſt part of the decree which Demoſthenes had procured, and beating time to it—*Demoſthenes the Pæanean, ſon of Demoſthenes, has decreed.* But when he came to be ſober again, and conſidered the dangers with which he had lately been ſurrounded, he trembled to think of the prodigious force and power of that orator, who had obliged

him to put both empire and life on the caſt of a day, on a few hours of that day *.

The fame of Demoſthenes reached the Perſian court; and the king wrote letters to his lieutenants, commanding them to ſupply him with money, and to attend to him more than to any other man in Greece; becauſe he beſt knew how to make a diverſion in his favour, by raiſing freſh troubles, and finding employment for the Macedonian arms nearer home. This Alexander afterwards diſcovered by the letters of Demoſthenes which he found at Sardis; and the papers of the Perſian governors expreſſing the ſums which had been given him.

When the Greeks had loſt this great battle, thoſe of the contrary faction attacked Demoſthenes, and brought a variety of public accuſations againſt him. The people, however, not only acquitted him, but treated him with the ſame reſpect as before, and called him to the helm again, as a perſon whom they knew to be a well-wiſher to his country. So that, when the bones of thoſe who fell at Chæronea were brought home to be interred, they pitched upon Demoſthenes to make the funeral oration. They were, therefore, ſo far from bearing their misfortune in a mean and ungenerous manner as Theopompus, in a tragical ſtrain, repreſents it; that, by the great honour they did the counſellor, they ſhewed they did not repent of having followed his advice.

Demoſthenes accordingly made the oration. But, after this, he did not prefix his own name to his edicts, becauſe he conſidered fortune as inauſpicious to him; but ſometimes that of one friend, ſometimes that of another, till he recovered his ſpirits upon the death of Philip. For that prince did not long ſurvive his victory at Chæronea; and his fate ſeemed to be preſignified in the laſt of the verſes above quoted:

> And ſee the vanquiſh'd weep, the victor die!

Demoſthenes had ſecret intelligence of the death of Philip; and, in order to prepoſſeſs the people with hopes of ſome good ſucceſs to come, he entered the aſſembly with a gay

* Demades the orator contributed to bring him to the right uſe of his reaſon, when he told him with ſuch diſtinguiſhed magnanimity, "That fortune had placed him in the character of Agamemnon, "but that he choſe to play the part of Therſites."

a gay countenance, pretending he had ſeen a viſion which announced ſomething great for Athens. Soon after, meſſengers came with an account of Philip's death. The Athenians immediately offered ſacrifices of acknowledgment to the gods for ſo happy an event, and voted a crown for Pauſanius, who killed him. Demoſthenes, on this occaſion, made his appearance in magnificent attire, and with a garland on his head, though it was only the ſeventh day after his daughter's death, as Æſchines tells us, who, on that account, reproaches him as an unnatural father. But he muſt himſelf have been of an ungenerous and effeminate diſpoſition, if he conſidered tears and lamentations as marks of a kind and affectionate parent, and condemned the man who bore ſuch a loſs with moderation.

At the ſame time, I do not pretend to ſay the Athenians were right in crowning themſelves with flowers, or in ſacrificing, upon the death of a prince; who had behaved to them with ſo much gentleneſs and humanity in their misfortunes. For it was a meanneſs, below contempt, to honour him in his life, and admit him a citizen; and yet, after he was fallen by the hands of another, not to keep their joy within any bounds, but to inſult the dead, and ſing triumphal ſongs, as if they had performed ſome extraordinary act of valour.

I commend Demoſthenes, indeed, for leaving the tears and other inſtances of mourning, which his domeſtic misfortunes might claim, to the women, and going about ſuch actions as he thought conducive to the welfare of his country. For I think a man of ſuch firmneſs and other abilities as a ſtateſman ought to have, ſhould always have the common concern in view, and look upon his private accidents or buſineſs as conſiderations much inferior to the public. In conſequence of which, he will be much moro careful to maintain his dignity, than actors who perſonate kings and tyrants; and yet theſe, we ſee, neither laugh nor weep according to the dictates of their own paſſions, but as they are directed by the ſubject of the drama. It is univerſally acknowledged that we are not to abandon the unhappy to their ſorrows, but to endeavour to conſole them by rational diſcourſe, or by turning their attention to more agreeable objects; in the ſame manner as we deſire thoſe who have weak eyes, to turn them from bright and dazzling colours, to green, or others of a ſofter kind. And what better conſolation can there be under domeſtic afflic-

 tions,

tions, than to attemper and alleviate them with the public ſucceſs *; ſo that, by ſuch a mixture, the bad may be corrected by the good. Theſe reflections we thought proper to make, becauſe we have obſerved that this diſcourſe of Æſchines has weakened the minds of many perſons, and put them upon indulging all the effeminacy of ſorrow.

Demoſthenes now ſolicited the ſtates of Greece again, and they entered once more into the league. The Thebans, being furniſhed with arms by Demoſthenes, attacked the garriſon in their citadel, and killed great numbers; and the Athenians prepared to join them in the war. Demoſthenes mounted the *roſtrum* almoſt every day; and he wrote to the king of Perſia's lieutenants in Aſia, to invite them to commence hoſtilities from that quarter againſt Alexander, whom he called a *boy*, a ſecond *Margites* †.

But when Alexander had ſettled the affairs of his own country, and marched into Bœotia with all his forces, the pride of the Athenians was humbled, and the ſpirit of Demoſthenes died away. They deſerted the Thebans; and that unhappy people had to ſtand the whole fury of the war by themſelves; in conſequence of which, they loſt their city. The Athenians were in great trouble and confuſion; and they could think of no better meaſure, than the ſending Demoſthenes, and ſome others, ambaſſadors to Alexander. But Demoſthenes, dreading the anger of that monarch, turned back at Mount Cithæron, and relinquiſhed his commiſſion. Alexander immediately ſent deputies to Athens, who (according to Idomeneus and Duris) demanded that they would deliver up ten of their orators. But the greateſt part, and thoſe the moſt reputable of the hiſtorians ſay, that he demanded only theſe eight, Demoſthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Damon, Calliſthenes, and Charidemus. On this occaſion, Demoſthenes addreſſed the people in the fable of the ſheep, who

* In the printed text, it is πατριδος ατυχȣσες, but the *Vulcob.* and another manuſcript give us ευτυχȣσης. Some queſtion whether κοινων παθων can mean public joy, though παθη does certainly ſometimes mean the affections or paſſions in general. It would, indeed, be good ſenſe to ſay, We ought to loſe our private ſorrows in the public; Doſt thou mourn for thyſelf, when thy country is periſhing? But that interpretation would not agree with what follows, τοις βελτιοσιν αφανιζȣσαν τα χειρω, *that the bad may be corrected by the good.*

† Homer wrote a ſatire againſt this Margites, who appears to have been a very contemptible character.

who were to give up their dogs to the wolves, before they would grant them peace. By which he insinuated, that he and the other orators were the guards of the people, as the dogs were of the flock; and that Alexander was the great wolf they had to treat with. And again: "As we see "merchants carrying about a small sample in a dish, by "by which they sell large quantities of wheat; so you, in "in us, without knowing it, deliver up the whole body of "citizens." These particulars we have from Aristobulus of Cassandria.

The Athenians deliberated upon the point in full assembly; and Demades seeing them in great preplexity, offered to go alone to the king of Macedon, and intercede for the orators, on condition that each of them would give him five talents; whether it was that he depended upon the friendship that prince had for him, or whether he hoped to find him, like a lion, satiated with blood, he succeeded, however, in his application for the orators, and reconciled Alexander to the city.

When Alexander returned to Macedon, the reputation of Demades, and the other orators of his party, greatly increased; and that of Demosthenes gradually declined. It is true, he raised his head a little, when Agis, king of Sparta, took the field; but it soon fell again; for the Athenians refused to join him, Agis was killed in battle, and the Lacedemonians entirely routed.

About this time *, the affair *concerning the crown*, came again upon the carpet. The information was first laid under the archonship of Chærondas; and the cause was not determined till ten years after †, under Aristophon. It was the most celebrated cause that ever was pleaded, as well on account of the reputation of the orators, as the generous behaviour of the judges. For, though the prosecutors of Demosthenes were then in great power, as being entirely in the Macedonian interest, the judges would not give their voices against him; but, on the contrary, acquitted him so honourably, that Æschines had not a fifth part of the suffrages.

* Demosthenes rebuilt the walls of Athens at his own expence; for which the people, at the motion of Ctesiphon, decreed him a crown of gold. This excited the envy and jealousy of Æschines, who thereupon brought that famous impeachment against Demosthenes, which occasioned his inimitable oration *de Corona*.

† Plutarch must be mistaken here. It does not appear, upon the exactest calculation, to have been more than eight years.

suffrages*. Æschines immediately quitted Athens, and spent the rest of his days in teaching rhetoric at Rhodes and in Ionia.

It was not long after this, that Harpalus came from Asia to Athens †. He had fled from the service of Alexander, both because he was conscious to himself of having falsified his trust, to minister to his pleasures, and because he dreaded his master, who now was become terrible to his best friends. As he applied to the people of Athens for shelter, and desired protection for his ships and treasures, most of the orators had an eye upon the gold, and supported his application with all their interest. Demosthenes at first advised them to order Harpalus off immediately, and to be particularly careful not to involve the city in war again, without any just or necessary cause.

Yet a few days after, when they were taking an account of the treasure, Harpalus perceiving that Demosthenes was much pleased with one of the king's cups, and stood admiring the workmanship and fashion, desired him to take it in his hand, and feel the weight of the gold. Demosthenes being surprised at the weight, and asking Harpalus how much it might bring, he smiled and said, "It will "bring you twenty talents." And as soon as it was night, he sent him the cup with that sum. For Harpalus knew well enough how to distinguish a man's passion for gold, by his pleasure at the sight, and the keen looks he cast upon it. Demosthenes could not resist the temptation: it made all the impression upon him that was expected; he received the money, like a garrison, into his house, and went over to the interest of Harpalus. Next day, he came into the assembly with a quantity of wool and bandages about his neck; and when the people called upon him to get up and speak, he made signs that he had lost his voice. Upon which some that were by said, "it was no common "hoarseness that he had got in the night; it was a hoarse-"ness occasioned by swallowing gold and silver." Afterwards

* This was a very ignominious circumstance; for if the accuser had not a fifth part of the suffrages, he was fined a thousand drachmas.

† Harpalus had the charge of Alexander's treasure in Babylon; and, flattering himself that he would never return from his Indian expedition, he gave into all manner of crimes and excesses. At last, when he found that Alexander was really returning, and that he took a severe account of such people as himself, he thought proper to march off with 5000 talents, and 6000 men, into Attica.

wards, when all the people were appriſed of his taking the bribe, and he wanted to ſpeak in his own defence, they would not ſuffer him, but raiſed a clamour, and expreſſed their indignation. At the ſame time, ſomebody or other ſtood up and ſaid ſneeringly, "Will you not liſten to the "man with the cup *." The Athenians then immediately ſent Harpalus off; and, fearing they might be called to account for the money with which the orators had been corrupted, they made a ſtrict inquiry after it, and ſearched all their houſes, except that of Callicles the ſon of Arrenides; whom they ſpared, as Theopompus ſays, becauſe he was newly married, and his bride was in his houſe.

At the ſame time, Demoſthenes, ſeemingly with a deſign to prove his innocence, moved for an order, that the affair ſhould be brought before the court of Areopagus, and all perſons puniſhed who ſhould be found guilty of taking bribes. In conſequence of which, he appeared before that court, and was one of the firſt that were convicted. Being ſentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents, and to be impriſoned till it was paid, the diſgrace of his conviction, and the weakneſs of his conſtitution, which could not bear cloſe confinement, determined him to fly; and this he did, undiſcovered by ſome, and aſſiſted by others. It is ſaid, that when he was not far from the city, he perceived ſome of his late adverſaries following, and endeavoured to hide himſelf. But they called to him by name; and when they came nearer, deſired him to take ſome neceſſary ſupplies of money, which they had brought with them for that purpoſe. They aſſured him, they had no other deſign in following; and exhorted him to take courage. But Demoſthenes gave into more violent expreſſions of grief than ever, and ſaid, "What comfort can I have, when I leave enemies "in this city more generous than it ſeems poſſible to find "friends in any other?" He bore his exile in a very weak and effeminate manner. For the moſt part, he reſided in Ægina or Trœzene; where, whenever he looked towards Attica, the tears fell from his eyes. In his expreſſions,

* This alludes to a cuſtom of the ancients at their feaſts; wherein it was uſual for the cup to paſs from hand to hand; and the perſon who held it ſung a ſong, to which the reſt gave attention.

† It is recorded by Phocius, that Æſchines, when he left Athens, was followed in like manner, and aſſiſted by Demoſthenes; and that, when he offered him conſolations, he made the ſame anſwer. Plutarch likewiſe mentions this circumſtance in the lives of the ten orators.

ſions, there was nothing of a rational firmneſs; nothing anſwerable to the bold things he had ſaid and done in his adminiſtration. When he left Athens, we are told, he lifted up his hands towards the citadel, and ſaid, "O "Minerva, goddeſs of thoſe towers, whence is it that thou "delighteſt in three ſuch monſters as an owl, a dragon, "and the people?" The young men who reſorted to him for inſtruction, he adviſed, by no means, to meddle with affairs of ſtate. He told them, "That, if two roads had "been ſhewn him at firſt, the one leading to the *roſtrum* "and the buſineſs of the aſſembly, and the other to certain "deſtruction; and he could have foreſeen the evils that "awaited him in the political walk, the fears, the envy, the "calumny, and contention; he would have choſen that "road which led to immediate death."

During the exile of Demoſthenes, Alexander died*. The Greek cities once more combining upon that event, Leoſthenes performed great things; and, among the reſt, drew a line of circumvallation around Antipater, whom he had ſhut up in Lamia. Pytheas the orator, with Callimedon and Carabus, left Athens, and, going over to Antipater, accompanied his friends and ambaſſadors in their applications to the Greeks, and in perſuading them not to deſert the Macedonian cauſe, nor liſten to the Athenians. On the other hand, Demoſthenes joined the Athenian deputies, and exerted himſelf greatly with them in exhorting the ſtates to fall with united efforts upon the Macedonians, and drive them out of Greece. Phylarchus tells us, that, in one of the cities of Arcadia, Pytheas and Demoſthenes ſpoke with great acrimony; the one in pleading for the Macedonians, and the other for the Greeks. Pytheas is reported to have ſaid, "As ſome ſickneſs is always ſuppoſed to be in the "houſe into which aſs's milk is brought; ſo the city, "which an Athenian embaſſy ever enters, muſt neceſſarily "be in a ſick and decaying condition." Demoſthenes turned the compariſon againſt him, by ſaying, "As aſs's "milk never enters but for curing the ſick; ſo the Athe-"nians never appear but for remedying ſome diſorder."

The people of Athens were ſo much pleaſed with this repartee, that they immediately voted for the recal of Demoſthenes. It was Damon the Pæanean, couſin-german to Demoſthenes, who drew up the decree. A galley was ſent

* Olymp. cxiv. Demoſthenes was then in his fifty-eighth year.

ſent to fetch him from Ægina; and when he came up from the Piræus to Athens, the whole body of citizens went to meet and congratulate him on his return; inſomuch, that there was neither a magiſtrate nor prieſt left in the town. Demetrius of Magneſia acquaints us, that Demoſthenes lifted up his hands towards heaven in thanks for that happy day. "Happier, ſaid he, is my return than "that of Alcibiades. It was through compulſion that "the Athenians reſtored him, but me they have recalled "from a motive of kindneſs."

The fine, however, ſtill remained due; for they could not extend their grace ſo far as to repeal his ſentence. But they found out a method to evade the law, while they ſeemed to comply with it. It was the cuſtom, in the ſacrifices to Jupiter the preſerver, to pay the perſons who prepared and adorned the altars. They, therefore, appointed Demoſthenes to this charge; and ordered that he ſhould have fifty talents for his trouble, which was the ſum his fine amounted to.

But he did not long enjoy his return to his country. The affairs of Greece ſoon went to ruin. They loſt the battle of Crano in the month of Auguſt *, a Macedonian garriſon entered Munychia in September †, and Demoſthenes loſt his life in October ‡.

It happened in the following manner. When news was brought that Antipater and Craterus were coming to Athens, Demoſthenes and thoſe of his party haſtened to get out privately before their arrival. Hereupon, the people, at the motion of Demades, condemned them to death. As they fled different ways, Antipater ſent a company of ſoldiers about the country to ſeize them. Archias, ſurnamed *Phugadotheras*, or *the exile-hunter*, was their captain. It is ſaid, he was a native of Thurium, and had been ſome time a tragedian; they add, that Polus of Ægina, who excelled all the actors of his time, was his ſcholar. Hermippus reckons Archias among the diſciples of Lacritus the rhetorician; and Demetrius ſays he ſpent ſome time at the ſchool of Anaximenes. This Archias, however, drew Hyperides the orator, Ariſtonicus of Marathon, and Himeræus, the brother of Demetrius the Phalerean, out of the temple of Æacus in Ægina, where they had taken refuge, and ſent them to Antipater at Cleonæ. There they were

* *Metagitnion.* † *Boëdromion.* ‡ *Pyanepſion.*

were executed; and Hyperides is ſaid to have firſt had his tongue cut out.

Archias being informed that Demoſthenes had taken ſanctuary in the temple of Neptune at Calauria, he and his Thracian ſoldiers paſſed over to it in row-boats. As ſoon as he was landed, he went to the orator, and endeavoured to perſuade him to quit the temple, and go with him to Antipater; aſſuring him that he had no hard meaſure to expect. But it happened that Demoſthenes had ſeen a ſtrange viſion the night before. He thought that he was contending with Archias, which could play the tragedian the beſt; that he ſucceeded in his action; had the audience on his ſide, and would certainly have obtained the prize, had not Archias outdone him in the dreſſes and decorations of the theatre. Therefore, when Archias had addreſſed him with a great appearance of humanity, he fixed his eyes on him, and ſaid, without riſing from his ſeat, "Neither your action moved me formerly, nor do "your promiſes move me now." Archias then began to threaten him; upon which he ſaid, "Before, you acted a "part; now you ſpeak as from the Macedonian tripod. "Only wait a while, till I have ſent my laſt orders to my "family." So ſaying, he retired into the inner part of the temple; and, taking ſome paper, as if he meant to write, he put the pen in his mouth, and bit it a conſiderable time, as he uſed to do when thoughtful about his compoſition: after which, he covered his head, and put it in a reclining poſture. The ſoldiers who ſtood at the door, apprehending that he took theſe methods to put off the fatal ſtroke, laughed at him, and called him a coward. Archias then approaching him, deſired him to riſe, and began to repeat the promiſes of making his peace with Antipater. Demoſthenes, who by this time felt the operation of the poiſon he had taken ſtrong upon him, uncovered his face, and looking upon Archias, "Now," ſaid he, "you may act the part of Creon* in the play, as ſoon as "you pleaſe, and caſt out this carcaſe of mine unburied. "For my part, O gracious Neptune, I quit thy temple "with my breath within me. But Antipater and the Macedonians would not have ſcrupled to profane it with "murder." By this time he could ſcarcely ſtand, and therefore

* Alluding to that paſſage in the Antigone of Sophocles, where Creon forbids the body of Polynices to be buried.

therefore desired them to support him. But in attempting to walk out he fell by the altar, and expired with a groan.

Aristo says, he sucked the poison from a pen, as we have related it. One Pappus, whose memoirs were recovered by Hermippus, reports, that, when he fell by the altar, there was found on his paper the beginning of a letter, "Demosthenes to Antipater," and nothing more. He adds, that people being surprised that he died so quickly, the Thracians who stood at the door, assured them that he took the poison in his hand out of a piece of cloth, and put it to his mouth. To them it had the appearance of gold. Upon inquiry made by Archias, a young maid who served Demosthenes, said, he had long wore that piece of cloth by way of amulet. Eratosthenes tells us, that he kept the poison in the hollow of a bracelet button which he wore upon his arm. Many others have written upon the subject; but it is not necessary to give all their different accounts. We shall only add, that Democharis, a servant of Demosthenes, asserts, that he did not think his death owing to poison, but to the favour of the gods, and a happy providence, which snatched him from the cruelty of the Macedonians, by a speedy and easy death. He died on the sixteenth of October, which is the most mournful day in the ceremonies of the *Thesmophoria* *. The women keep it with fasting in the temple of Ceres.

It was not long before the people of Athens paid him the honours that were due to him, by erecting his statue in brass, and decreeing that the eldest of his family should be maintained in the *Prytaneum*, at the public charge. This celebrated inscription was put upon the pedestal of his statue:

Divine in speech, in judgment, too, divine,
Had valour's wreath, Demosthenes, been thine,
Fair Greece had still her freedom's ensign borne,
And held the scourge of Macedon in scorn!

For no regard is to be paid to those who say that Demosthenes

* This was an annual festival in honour of Ceres. It began the fourteenth of October, and ended the eighteenth. The third day of the festival was a day of fasting and mortification; and this is the day that Plutarch speaks of.

thenes himſelf uttered theſe lines in Calauria, juſt before he took the poiſon *.

A little before I viſited Athens, the following adventure is ſaid to have happened. A ſoldier being ſummoned to appear before the commanding officer upon ſome miſdemeanor, put the little gold he had in the hands of the ſtatue of Demoſthenes, which were in ſome meaſure clenched. A ſmall plane-tree grew by it; and many leaves, either accidentally lodged there by the winds, or purpoſely ſo placed by the ſoldier, covered the gold a conſiderable time. When he returned and found his money entire, the fame of this accident was ſpread abroad, and many of the wits of Athens ſtrove which could write the beſt copy of verſes, to vindicate Demoſthenes from the charge of corruption.

As for Demades, he did not long enjoy the new honours he had acquired. The Being who took it in charge to revenge Demoſthenes, led him into Macedonia, where he juſtly periſhed by the hands of thoſe whom he had baſely flattered. They had hated him for ſome time; but at laſt they caught him in a fact which could neither be excuſed nor pardoned. Letters of his were intercepted, in which he exhorted Perdiccas to ſeize Macedonia, and deliver Greece, which, he ſaid, "hung only by an old rotten ſtalk," meaning Antipater. Dinarchus, the Corinthian, accuſing him of this treaſon, Caſſander was ſo much provoked, that he ſtabbed his ſon in his arms, and afterwards gave orders for his execution. Thus, by the moſt dreadful misfortunes, he learned that *traitors always firſt ſell themſelves*: A truth which Demoſthenes had often told him before, but he would never believe it. Such, my Soſſius, is the life of Demoſthenes, which we have compiled in the beſt manner we could, from books and from tradition.

* This inſcription, ſo far from doing Demoſthenes honour, is the greateſt diſgrace that the Athenians could have faſtened on his memory. It reproaches him with a weakneſs, which, when the ſafety of his country was at ſtake, was ſuch a deplorable want of virtue and manhood, as no parts or talents could atone for.

CICERO.

# CICERO.

THE account we have of Helvia the mother of Cicero, is, that her family was noble *, and her character excellent. Of his father there is nothing ſaid but in extremes. For ſome affirm that he was the ſon of a fuller †, and educated in that trade, while others deduce his origin from Attius Tullus ‡, a prince who governed the Volſci with great reputation. Be that as it may, I think the firſt of the family who bore the name of Cicero, muſt have been an extraordinary man; and for that reaſon his poſterity did not reject the appellation, but rather took to it with pleaſure, though it was a common ſubject of ridicule: for the Latins call a vetch *cicer*, and he had a flat excreſcence on the top of his noſe in reſemblance of a vetch, from which he got that ſurname §. As for the Cicero of whom we are writing, his friends adviſed him, on his firſt application to buſineſs, and ſoliciting one of the great offices of ſtate, to lay aſide or change that name. But he anſwered with great ſpirit, " That he would endeavour to make the name of " Cicero more glorious than that of the Scauri and the " Catuli." When quæſtor in Sicily, he conſecrated in one of the temples a vaſe or ſome other offering in ſilver, upon which he inſcribed his two firſt names *Marcus Tullius*, and, punning upon the third, ordered the artificer to engrave a vetch. Such is the account we have of his name.

He was born on the third of January ‖, the day on which the magiſtrates now ſacrifice and pay their devotions for the health of the emperor; and it is ſaid that his mother was delivered

* Cinna was of this family.

† Dion tells us that Q. Calenus was the author of this calumny. Cicero in his books *de Legibus*, has ſaid enough to ſhew that both his father and grandſather were perſons of property and of a liberal education.

‡ The ſame prince to whom Coriolanus retired four hundred years before.

§ Pliny's account of the origin of this name is more probable. He ſuppoſes that the perſon who firſt bore it was remarkable for the cultivation of vetches. So Fabius, Lentulus, and Piſo, had their names from beans, tares, and peaſe.

‖ In the ſix hundred and forty-ſeventh year of Rome: a hundred and four years before the Chriſtian æra. Pompey was born the ſame year.

delivered of him without pain. It is alſo reported, that a ſpectre appeared to his nurſe, and foretold, that the child ſhe had the happineſs to attend, would one day prove a great benefit to the whole commonwealth of Rome. Theſe things might have paſſed for idle dreams, had he not ſoon demonſtrated the truth of the prediction. When he was of a proper age to go to ſchool, his genius broke out with ſo much luſtre, and he gained ſo diſtinguiſhed a reputation among the boys, that the fathers of ſome of them repaired to the ſchools to ſee Cicero, and to have ſpecimens of his capacity for literature; but the leſs civilized were angry with their ſons, when they ſaw them take Cicero in the middle of them as they walked, and always give him the place of honour. He had that turn of genius and diſpoſition which Plato * would have a ſcholar and philoſopher to poſſeſs. He had both capacity and inclination to learn all the arts, nor was there any branch of ſcience that he deſpiſed; yet he was moſt inclined to poetry; and there is ſtill extant a poem, entitled *Pontius Glaucus* †, which was written by him, when a boy, in *tetramater* verſe. In proceſs of time, when he had ſtudied this art with greater application, he was looked upon as the beſt poet, as well as the greateſt orator in Rome. His reputation for oratory ſtill remains, notwithſtanding the conſiderable changes that have ſince been made in the language; but, as many ingenious poets have appeared ſince his time, his poetry has loſt its credit, and is now neglected ‡.

When he had finiſhed thoſe ſtudies through which boys commonly paſs, he attended the lectures of Philo the academician, whom of all the ſcholars of Clitomachus, the Romans moſt admired for his eloquence, and loved for his conduct. At the ſame time he made great improvement in the knowledge of the law, under Mucius Scævola, an eminent

* Plato's Commonwealth, lib. v.

† This Glaucus was a famous fiſherman, who after eating of a certain herb, jumped into the ſea, and became one of the gods of that element. Æſchylus wrote a tragedy on the ſubject. Cicero's poem is loſt.

‡ Plutarch was a very indifferent judge of the Latin poetry, and his ſpeaking with ſo much favour of Cicero's, contrary to the opinion of Juvenal and many others, is a ſtrong proof of it. He tranſlated Aratus into verſe at the age of ſeventeen, and wrote a poem in praiſe of the actions of Marius, which, Scævola ſaid, would live through innumerable ages. But he was out in his prophecy. It has long been dead. And the poem which he wrote in three books on his own conſulſhip, has ſhared the ſame fate.

eminent lawyer, and prefident of the fenate. He likewife got a tafte of military knowledge under Sylla, in the Marfian war*. But, afterwards, finding the commonwealth engaged in civil wars, which were likely to end in nothing but abfolute monarchy, he withdrew to a philofophic and contemplative life; converfing with men of letters from Greece, and making farther advances in fcience. This method of life he purfued till Sylla had made himfelf mafter, and there appeared to be fome eftablifhed government again.

About this time Sylla ordered the eftate of one of the citizens to be fold by auction, in confequence of his being killed as a perfon profcribed; when it was ftruck off to Chryfogonus, Sylla's freedman, at the fmall fum of two thoufand *drachmæ*. Rofcius, the fon and heir of the deceafed, expreffed his indignation, and declared that the eftate was worth two hundred and fifty talents. Sylla, enraged at having his conduct thus publicly called in queftion, brought an action againft Rofcius for the murder of his father, and appointed Chryfogonus to be the manager. Such was the dread of Sylla's cruelty, that no man offered to appear in defence of Rofcius, and nothing feemed left for him but to fall a facrifice. In this diftrefs he applied to Cicero, and the friends of the young orator defired him to undertake the caufe; thinking he could not have a more glorious opportunity to enter the lifts of fame. Accordingly he undertook his defence, fucceeded, and gained great applaufe †. But fearing Sylla's refentment, he travelled into Greece, and gave out that the recovery of his health was the motive. Indeed, he was of a lean and flender habit, and his ftomach was fo weak, that he was obliged to be very fparing in his diet, and not to eat till a late hour in the day. His voice, however, had a variety of inflections, but was at the fame time harfh and unformed; and, as in the vehemence and enthufiafm of fpeaking, he always rofe into a loud key, there was reafon to apprehend that it might injure his health.

When he came to Athens, he heard Antiochus the Afcalonite, and was charmed with the fmoothnefs and grace of his elocution, though he did not approve his new doctrines in philofophy. For Antiochus had left the *new academy*,

* In the eighteenth year of his age.

† In his twenty-feventh year.

*academy*, as it is called, and the ſect of Carneades, either from clear conviction and from the ſtrength of the evidence of ſenſe, or elſe from a ſpirit of oppoſition to the ſchools of Clitomachus and Philo, and had adopted moſt of the doctrines of the Stoics. But Cicero loved the *new academy*, and entered more and more into its opinions; having already taken his reſolution, if he failed in his deſign of riſing in the ſtate, to retire from the *forum* and all political intrigues, to Athens, and ſpend his days in peace in the boſom of philoſophy.

But not long after, he received the news of Sylla's death. His body by this time was ſtrengthened by exerciſe, and brought to a good habit. His voice was formed; and at the ſame time that it was full and ſonorous, had gained a ſufficient ſweetneſs, and was brought to a key which his conſtitution could bear. Beſides, his friends at Rome ſolicited him by letters to return, and Antiochus exhorted him much to apply himſelf to public affairs. For which reaſons, he exerciſed his rhetorical powers afreſh, as the beſt engines for buſineſs, and called forth his political talents. In ſhort, he ſuffered not a day to paſs without either declaiming, or attending the moſt celebrated orators. In the proſecution of this deſign, he ſailed to Aſia and the iſland of Rhodes. Amongſt the rhetoricians of Aſia, he availed himſelf of the inſtructions of Xenocles of Adramyttium, Dionyſius of Magneſia, and Menippus of Caria. At Rhodes he ſtudied under the rhetorician Apollonius the ſon of Molo*, and the philoſopher Poſidonius. It is ſaid, that Apollonius, not underſtanding the Roman language, deſired Cicero to declaim in Greek; and he readily complied, becauſe he thought by that means his faults might the better be corrected. When he had ended his declamation, the reſt were aſtoniſhed at his performance, and ſtrove which ſhould praiſe him moſt; but Apollonius ſhewed no ſigns of pleaſure while he was ſpeaking; and when he had done, he ſat a long time thoughtful and ſilent. At laſt, obſerving the uneaſineſs it gave his pupil, he ſaid, "As for you, "Cicero, I praiſe and admire you, but I am concerned "for the fate of Greece. She had nothing left her but "the glory of eloquence and erudition, and you are car"rying that too to Rome."

Cicero

* Not *Apollonius the ſon of Molo*, but *Apollonius Molo*. The ſame miſtake is made by our author in the life of Cæſa.

Cicero now prepared to apply himſelf to public affairs with great hopes of ſucceſs : but his ſpirit received a check from the oracle at Delphi. For upon his inquiring by what means he might riſe to the greateſt glory, the prieſteſs bade him " follow nature, and not take the opinion of the " multitude for the guide of his life." Hence it was, that after his coming to Rome, he acted at firſt with great caution. He was timorous and backward in applying for public offices, and had the mortification to find himſelf neglected, and called *a Greek, a ſcholaſtic* ; terms which the artizans, and others the meaneſt of the Romans, are very liberal in applying. But, as he was naturally ambitious to honour, and ſpurred on beſides by his father and his friends, he betook himſelf to the bar. Nor was it by ſlow and inſenſible degrees that he gained the palm of eloquence ; his fame ſhot forth at once, and he was diſtinguiſhed above all the orators of Rome. Yet it is ſaid that his turn for action was naturally as defective as that of Demoſthenes, and therefore he took all the advantage he could from the inſtruction of Roſcius who excelled in comedy, and of Æſop whoſe talents lay in tragedy. This Æſop, we are told, when he was one day acting Atreus, in the part where he conſiders in what manner he ſhould puniſh Thyeſtes, being worked up by his paſſion to a degree of inſanity, with his ſceptre ſtruck a ſervant who happened ſuddenly to paſs by, and laid him dead at his feet. In conſequence of theſe helps, Cicero found his powers of perſuaſion not a little aſſiſted by action and juſt pronunciation. But as for thoſe orators who gave into a bawling manner, he laughed at them, and ſaid, " Their weakneſs " made them get up into clamour, as lame men get on " horſeback." His excellence at hitting off a jeſt or repartee, animated his pleadings, and therefore ſeemed not foreign to the buſineſs of the *forum* ; but by bringing it much into life, he offended numbers of people, and got the character of a malevolent man.

He was appointed quæſtor at a time when there was a great ſcarcity of corn ; and having Sicily for his province, he gave the people a great deal of trouble at firſt, by compelling them to ſend their corn to Rome. But afterwards, when they came to experience his diligence, his juſtice and moderation, they honoured him more than any quæſtor that Rome had ever ſent them. About that time, a number of young Romans of noble families, who lay under the charge

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of having violated the rules of discipline, and not behaved with sufficient courage in time of service, were sent back to the prætor of Sicily. Cicero undertook their defence, and acquitted himself of it with great ability and success. As he returned to Rome, much elated with these advantages, he tells us *, he met with a pleasant adventure. As he was on the road through Campania, meeting with a person of some eminence with whom he was acquainted, he asked him, "What they said and thought of his actions, in Rome?" imagining that his name and the glory of his achievements had filled the whole city. His acquaintance answered, "Why, where have you been, then, Cicero, all this time?"

This answer dispirited him extremely: for he found that the accounts of his conduct had been lost in Rome, as in an immense sea, and had made no remarkable addition to his reputation. By mature reflection upon this incident, he was brought to retrench his ambition, because he saw that contention for glory was an endless thing, and had neither measure nor bounds to terminate it. Nevertheless, his immoderate love of praise, and his passion for glory, always remained with him, and often interrupted his best and wisest designs.

When he began to dedicate himself more earnestly to public business, he thought that, while mechanics know the name, the place, the use of every tool and instrument they take in their hands, though those things are inanimate, it would be absurd for a statesman, whose functions cannot be performed but by means of men, to be negligent in acquainting himself with the citizens. He therefore made it his business to commit to memory not only their names, but the place of abode of those of greater note, what friends they made use of, and what neighbours were in their circle. So that whatever road in Italy Cicero travelled, he could easily point out the estates and houses of his friends.

Though his own estate was sufficient for his necessities, yet as it was small, it seemed strange that he would take neither fee nor present for his services at the bar. This was most remarkable in the case of Verres. Verres had been *prætor* in Sicily, and committed numberless acts of injustice and oppression. The Scicilians prosecuted him, and Cicero gained the cause for them, not so much by pleading,

* In his oration for Plancius.

pleading, as by forbearing to plead. The magiſtrates, in their partiality to Verres, put off the trial by ſeveral adjournments to the laſt day *; and as Cicero knew there was not time for the advocates to be heard, and the matter determined in the uſual method, he roſe up, and ſaid, "There was no occaſion for pleadings." He therefore brought up the witneſſes, and after their depoſitions were taken, inſiſted that the judges ſhould give their verdict immediately.

Yet we have an account of ſeveral humorous ſayings of Cicero's in this cauſe. When an emancipated ſlave, Cæcilius by name, who was ſuſpected of being a Jew, would have ſet aſide the Sicilians, and taken the proſecution of Verres upon himſelf †, Cicero ſaid, "What has a Jew to "do with ſwine's fleſh?" For the Romans call a boar-pig *verres*. And when Verres reproached Cicero with effeminacy, he anſwered, "Why do you not firſt reprove your "own children?" For Verres had a young ſon who was ſuppoſed to make an infamous uſe of his advantages of perſon. Hortenſius the orator did not venture directly to plead the cauſe of Verres, but he was prevailed on to appear for him at the laying of the fine, and had received an ivory *ſphinx* from him by way of conſideration. In this caſe Cicero threw out ſeveral enigmatical hints againſt Hortenſius; and when he ſaid, "He knew not how to "ſolve riddles," Cicero retorted, "That is ſomewhat "ſtrange, when you have a *ſphinx* in your houſe."

Verres being thus condemned, Cicero ſet his fine at ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand *drachmæ*; upon which, it was ſaid by cenſorious people, that he had been bribed to let him off ſo low ‡. The Sicilians, however, in acknowledgment of his aſſiſtance, brought him when he was ædile, a number of things for his games, and other very valuable preſents; but he was ſo far from conſidering his private ad-

 vantage,

* Not till the *laſt* day. Cicero brought it on a *few* days before Verres's friends were to come into office; but of the ſeven orations which were compoſed on the occaſion, the two firſt only were delivered. A. U. 683.

† Cicero knew that Cæcilius was ſecretly a friend to Verres, and wanted by this means to bring him off.

‡ This fine indeed was very inconſiderable. The legal fine for extortion, in ſuch caſes as that of Verres, was twice the ſum extorted. The Sicilians laid a charge of 322916 l. againſt Verres; the fine muſt therefore have been 645832 l. but 750,000 drachmæ was no more than 24218 l. Plutarch muſt, therefore, moſt probably have been miſtaken.

vantage, that he made no other ufe of their generofity, than to lower the price of provifions.

He had a handfome country-feat at Arpinum, a farm near Naples, and another at Pompeii, but neither of them were very confiderable. His wife Terentia brought him a fortune of a hundred and twenty thoufand *denarii*, and he fell heir to fomething that amounted to ninety thoufand more. Upon this he lived in a genteel, and at the fame time a frugal manner, with men of letters, both Greeks and Romans, about him. He rarely took his meal before fun-fet; not that bufinefs or ftudy prevented his fitting down to table fooner, but the weaknefs of his ftomach, he thought, required that regimen. Indeed, he was fo exact in all refpects in the care of his health, that he had his ftated hours for rubbing and for the exercife of walking. By this management of his conftitution, he gained a fufficient ftock of health and ftrength for the great labours and fatigues he afterwards underwent.

He gave up the town-houfe which belonged to his family to his brother, and took up his refidence on the Palatine hill, that thofe who came to pay their court to him might not have too far to go. For he had a levee every day, not lefs than Craffus had for his great wealth, or Pompey for his power and intereft in the army; though they were the moft followed, and the greateft men in Rome. Pompey himfelf paid all due refpect to Cicero, and found his political affiftance very ufeful to him, both in refpect to power and reputation.

When Cicero ftood for the prætorfhip, he had many competitors who were perfons of diftinction, and yet he was returned firft. As a prefident in the courts of juftice, he acted with great integrity and honour. Licinius Macer who had great intereft of his own, and was fupported, befides, with that of Craffus, was accufed before him of fome default with refpect to money. He had fo much confidence in his own influence and the activity of his friends, that, when the judges were going to decide the caufe, it is faid he went home, cut his hair, and put on a white habit, as if he had gained the victory, and was about to return fo equipped to the *forum*. But Craffus met him in his court-yard, and told him, that all the judges had given verdict againft him; which affected him in fuch a manner, that he turned in again, took to his bed,

and

and died *. Cicero gained honour by this affair, for it appeared that he kept ſtrict watch againſt corruption in the court.

There was another perſon, named Vatinius, an inſolent orator, who paid very little reſpect to the judges in his pleadings. It happened that he had his neck full of ſcrophulous ſwellings. This man applied to Cicero about ſome buſineſs or other; and as that magiſtrate did not immediately comply with his requeſt, but ſat ſome time deliberating, he ſaid, "I could eaſily ſwallow ſuch a "thing, if I was prætor;" upon which, Cicero turned towards him, and made anſwer, "But I have not ſo large "a neck."

When there were only two or three days of his office unexpired, an information was laid againſt Manilius for embezzling the public money. This Manilius was a favourite of the people, and they thought he was only proſecuted on Pompey's account, being his particular friend. He deſired to have a day fixed for his trial; and, as Cicero appointed the next day, the people were much offended, becauſe it had been cuſtomary for the prætors to allow the accuſed ten days at the leaſt. The tribunes therefore cited Cicero to appear before the commons, and give an account of this proceeding. He deſired to be heard in his own defence, which was to this effect.—"As I have always behaved to "perſons impeached with all the moderation and humanity "that the laws will allow, I thought it wrong to loſe the "opportunity of treating Manilius with the ſame candour. "I was maſter only of one day more in my office of prætor, "and conſequently muſt appoint that; for to leave the "deciſion of the cauſe to another magiſtrate, was not the "method for thoſe who were inclined to ſerve Manilius." This made a wonderful change in the minds of the people, they were laviſh in their praiſes, and deſired him to undertake the defence himſelf. This he readily complied with; his



* The ſtory is related differently by Valerius Maximus. He ſays that Macer was in court waiting the iſſue, and, perceiving that Cicero was proceeding to give ſentence againſt him, he ſent to inform him that he was dead, and at the ſame time ſuffocated himſelf with his handkerchief. Cicero, therefore, did not pronounce ſentence againſt him, by which means his eſtate was ſaved to his ſon Licinius Calvus. Notwithſtanding this, Cicero himſelf, in one of his epiſtles to Atticus, ſays, that he actually condemned him; and in another of his epiſtles he ſpeaks of the popular eſteem this affair procured him. Cic. Ep. ad Att. l. i. 3, 4.

his regard for Pompey, who was abſent, not being his leaſt inducement. In conſequence hereof, he preſented himſelf before the commons again, and giving an account of the whole affair, took opportunity to make ſevere reflections on thoſe who favoured oligarchy, and envied the glory of Pompey.

Yet for the ſake of their country, the patricians joined the plebeians in raiſing him to the conſulſhip. The occaſion was this. The change which Sylla introduced into the conſtitution, at firſt ſeemed harſh and uneaſy, but by time and cuſtom it came to an eſtabliſhment which many thought not a bad one. At preſent there were ſome who wanted to bring in another change, merely to gratify their own avarice, and without the leaſt view to the public good. Pompey was engaged with the kings of Pontus and Armenia, and there was no force in Rome ſufficient to ſuppreſs the authors of this intended innovation. They had a chief of a bold and enterpriſing ſpirit, and the moſt remarkable verſatility of manners; his name Lucius Catiline. Beſide a variety of other crimes, he was accuſed of debauching his own daughter, and killing his own brother. To ſcreen himſelf from proſecution for the latter, he perſuaded Sylla to put his brother among the proſcribed, as if he had been ſtill alive. Theſe profligates, with ſuch a leader, among other engagements of ſecrecy and fidelity, ſacrificed a man, and eat of his fleſh. Catiline had corrupted great part of the Roman youth, by indulging their deſires in every form of pleaſure, providing them wine and women, and ſetting no bounds to his expences for theſe purpoſes. All Tuſcany was prepared for a revolt, and moſt of Ciſalpine Gaul. The vaſt inequality of the citizens in point of property, prepared Rome, too, for a change. Men of ſpirit amongſt the nobility had impoveriſhed themſelves by their great expences on public exhibitions and entertainments, on bribing for offices, and erecting magnificent buildings; by which means the riches of the city were fallen into the hands of mean people: in this tottering ſtate of the commonwealth, there needed no great force to overſet it, and it was in the power of any bold adventurer to accompliſh its ruin.

Catiline, however, before he began his operations, wanted a ſtrong fort to ſally out from, and with that view ſtood for the conſulſhip. His proſpect ſeemed very promiſing, becauſe he hoped to have Caius Antonius for his colleague: a man

man who had no firm principles either good or bad, nor any resolution of his own, but would make a considerable addition to the power of him that led him. Many persons of virtue and honour perceiving this danger, put up Cicero for the consulship, and the people accepted him with pleasure. Thus Catiline was baffled, and Cicero * and Caius Antonius appointed consuls; though Cicero's father was only of the equestrian order, and his competitors of patrician families.

Catiline's designs were not yet discovered to the people. Cicero, however, at his entrance upon his office, had great affairs on his hands, the preludes of what was to follow. On the one hand, those who had been incapacitated by the laws of Sylla to bear offices, being neither inconsiderable in power nor in number, began now to solicit them, and make all possible interest with the people. It is true, they alleged many just and good arguments against the tyranny of Sylla, but it was an unseasonable time to give the administration so much trouble. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people proposed laws which had the same tendency to distress the government; for they wanted to appoint *decemvirs*, and invest them with an unlimited power. This was to extend over all Italy, over Syria, and all the late conquests of Pompey. They were to be commissioned to sell the public lands in these countries; to judge or banish whom they pleased, to plant colonies; to take money out of the public treasury; to levy and keep on foot what troops they thought necessary. Many Romans of high distinction were pleased with the bill, and in particular Antony, Cicero's colleague, for he hoped to be one of the ten. It was thought, too, that he was no stranger to Catiline's designs, and that he did not disrelish them on account of his great debts. This was an alarming circumstance to all who had the good of their country at heart.

This danger, too, was the first that Cicero guarded against; which he did by getting the province of Macedonia decreed to Antony, and not taking that of Gaul which was allotted to himself. Antony was so much affected with this favour, that he was ready, like a hired player, to act a subordinate part under Cicero for the benefit of his country. Cicero having thus managed his colleague, began with greater



* In his forty-third year.

greater courage to take his meaſures againſt the ſeditious party. He alleged his objections againſt the law in the ſenate, and effectually ſilenced the propoſers *. They took another opportunity, however, and coming prepared, inſiſted that the conſuls ſhould appear before the people. Cicero, not in the leaſt intimidated, commanded the ſenate to follow him. He addreſſed the commons with ſuch ſucceſs, that they threw out the bill; and his victorious eloquence had ſuch an effect upon the tribunes, that they gave up other things which they had been meditating.

He was indeed the man who moſt effectually ſhewed the Romans, what charms eloquence can add to truth, and that juſtice is invincible, when properly ſupported. He ſhewed alſo, that a magiſtrate who watches for the good of the community, ſhould in his actions always prefer right to popular meaſures, and in his ſpeeches know how to make thoſe right meaſures agreeable, by ſeparating from them whatever may offend. Of the grace and power with which he ſpoke, we have a proof in a theatrical regulation that took place in his conſulſhip. Before, thoſe of the equeſtrian order ſat mixed with the commonalty. Marcus Otho in his prætorſhip was the firſt who ſeparated the knights from the other citizens, and appointed them ſeats which they ſtill enjoy †. The people looked upon this as a mark of diſhonour, and hiſſed and inſulted Otho, when he appeared in the theatre. The knights, on the other hand, received him with loud plaudits. The people repeated their hiſſing, and the knights their applauſe; till at laſt they came to mutual reproaches, and threw the whole theatre in the utmoſt diſorder. Cicero being informed of the diſturbance, came and called the people to the temple of Bellona, where, partly by reproof, partly by lenient applications, he ſo corrected them, that they returned to the theatre, loudly teſtified their approbation of Otho's conduct, and ſtrove with the knights, which ſhould do him the moſt honour.

Catiline's conſpiracy, which at firſt had been intimidated and diſcouraged, began to recover its ſpirits. The accomplices aſſembled, and exhorted each other to begin their operations with vigour, before the return of Pompey, who was ſaid to be already marching homewards with his forces. But

* This was the firſt of his three orations *de Lege Agraria*.

† About four years before, under the conſulſhip of Piſo and Glabrio. But Otho was not then prætor. He was tribune.

But Catiline's chief motive for actions, was the dependence he had on Sylla's veterans. Though these were scattered all over Italy, the greatest and most warlike part resided in the cities of Etruria, and in idea were plundering and sharing the wealth of Italy again. They had Manlius for their leader, a man who had served with great distinction under Sylla; and now entering into Catiline's views, they came to Rome to assist in the approaching election; for he solicited the consulship again, and had resolved to kill Cicero in the tumult of that assembly.

The gods seemed to presignify the machinations of these incendiaries by earthquakes, thunders, and apparitions. There were also intimations from men, true enough in themselves, but not sufficient for the conviction of a person of Catiline's quality and power. Cicero, therefore, adjourned the day of election; and having summoned Catiline before the senate, examined him upon the informations he had received. Catiline believing there were many in the senate who wanted a change, and at the same time being desirous to shew his resolution to his accomplices who were present, answered with a calm firmness,—"As there are "two bodies, one of which is feeble and decayed, but has "a head; the other strong and robust, but is without a "head; what harm am I doing, if I give a head to the "body that wants it?" By these enigmatical expressions he meant the senate and the people. Consequently Cicero was still more alarmed. On the day of election, he put on a coat of mail; the principal persons in Rome conducted him from his house, and great numbers of the youth attended him to the *campus martius*. There he threw back his robe, and shewed part of the coat of mail, on purpose to point out his danger. The people were incensed, and immediately gathered about him; the consequence of which was, that Catiline was thrown out again, and Silanus and Murena chosen consuls.

Not long after this, when the veterans were assembling for Catiline in Etruria, and the day appointed for carrying the plot into execution approached, three of the first and greatest personages in Rome, Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Metellus Scipio, went and knocked at Cicero's door about midnight; and having called the porter, bade him awake his master, and tell him who attended. Their business was this: Crassus's porter brought him in a pacquet of letters after supper, which he had received from

a perſon unknown. They were directed to different perſons, and there was one for Craſſus himſelf, but without a name. This only Craſſus read; and when he found that it informed him of a great maſſacre intended by Catiline, and warned him to retire out of the city, he did not open the reſt, but immediately went to wait on Cicero. For he was not only terrified at the impending danger, but he had ſome ſuſpicions to remove, which had ariſen from his acquaintance with Catiline. Cicero having conſulted with them what was proper to be done, aſſembled the ſenate at break of day, and delivered the letters according to the directions, deſiring at the ſame time that they might be read in public. They all gave the ſame account of the conſpiracy.

Quintus Arrius, a man of prætorian dignity, moreover, informed the ſenate of the levies that had been made in Etruria, and aſſured them that Manlius, with a conſiderable force, was hovering about thoſe parts, and only waiting for news of an inſurrection in Rome. On theſe informations, the ſenate made a decree, by which all affairs were committed to the conſuls, and they were impowered to act in the manner they ſhould think beſt for the preſervation of the commonwealth. This is an edict which the ſenate ſeldom iſſue, and never but in ſome great and imminent danger.

When Cicero was inveſted with this power, he committed the care of things without the city to Quintus Metellus, and took the direction of all within to himſelf. He made his appearance every day attended and guarded by ſuch a multitude of people, that they filled great part of the *forum* Catiline, unable to bear any longer delay, determined to repair to Manlius and his army; and ordered Marcius and Cethegus to take their ſwords and go to Cicero's houſe early in the morning, where, under pretence of paying their compliments, they were to fall upon him and kill him. But Fulvia, a woman of quality, went to Cicero in the night, to inform him of his danger, and charged him to be on his guard in particular againſt Cethegus. As ſoon as it was light, the aſſaſſins came, and being denied entrance, they grew very inſolent and clamorous, which made them the more ſuſpected.

Cicero went out afterwards, and aſſembled the ſenate in the temple of Jupiter *Stator*, which ſtands at the entrance of the *Via Sacra*, in the way to the Palatine hill. Catiline

came

came among the reſt, as with a deſign to make his defence; but there was not a ſenator who would ſit by him; they all left the bench he had taken; and when he began to ſpeak, they interrupted him in ſuch a manner, that he could not be heard.

At length Cicero roſe up, and commanded him to depart the city. "For," ſaid he, "while I employ only words, "and you weapons, there ſhould at leaſt be walls between "us." Catiline, upon this, immediately marched out with three hundred men well armed, and with the *faſces* and other enſigns of authority, as if he had been a lawful magiſtrate. In this form he went to Manlius, and having aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand men, he marched to the cities, in order to perſuade them to revolt. Hoſtilities being thus openly commenced, Antony, Cicero's colleague, was ſent againſt Catiline.

Such as Catiline had corrupted, and thought proper to leave in Rome, were kept together and encouraged by Cornelius Lentulus, ſurnamed Sura, a man of noble birth, but bad life. He had been expelled the ſenate for his debaucheries, but was then prætor the ſecond time; for that was a cuſtomary qualification when ejected perſons were to be reſtored to their places in the ſenate *. As to the ſurname of Sura, it is ſaid to have been given him on this occaſion. When he was quæſtor in the time of Sylla, he had laviſhed away vaſt ſums of the public money. Sylla, incenſed at his behaviour, demanded an account of him in full ſenate. Lentulus came up in a very careleſs and diſreſpectful manner, and ſaid, "I have no account to "give, but I preſent you with the calf of my leg;" which was a common expreſſion among the boys, when they miſſed their ſtroke at tennis. Hence he had the ſurname of *Sura*, which is the Roman word for the calf of the leg. Another time, being proſecuted for ſome great offence, he corrupted the judges. When they had given their verdict, though he was acquitted only by a majority of two, he ſaid, "He had put himſelf to a needleſs expence in "bribing one of thoſe judges, for it would have been ſuf"ficient to have had a majority of one."

Such was the diſpoſition of this man, who had not only been ſolicited by Catiline, but was moreover infatuated with vain

* When a Roman ſenator was expelled, an appointment to prætorial office was a ſufficient qualification for him to reſume his ſeat. Dion. l. xxxvii.

vain hopes, which prognosticators and other impostors held up to him. They forged verses in an oracular form, and brought him them, as from the books of the Sybils. These lying prophecies signified the decree of fate, "That "three of the Cornelii would be monarchs of Rome." They added, "That two had already fulfilled their de-"stiny, Cinna and Sylla; that he was the third Cornelius "whom the gods now offered the monarchy; and that he "ought by all means to embrace his high fortune, and "not ruin it by delays, as Catiline had done."

Nothing little or trivial now entered into the schemes of Lentulus. He resolved to kill the whole senate, and as many of the other citizens as he possibly could; to burn the city; and to spare none but the sons of Pompey, whom he intended to seize, and keep as pledges of his peace with that general. For by this time it was strongly reported that he was on his return from his great expedition. The conspirators had fixed on a night during the feast of the *saturnalia*, for the execution of their enterprise. They had lodged arms and combustible matter in the house of Cethegus. They had divided Rome into a hundred parts, and pitched upon the same number of men, each of which was allotted his quarter to set fire to. As this was to be done by them all at the same moment, they hoped that the conflagration would be general; others were to intercept the water, and kill all that went to seek it.

While these things were preparing, there happened to be at Rome two ambassadors from the Allobroges, a nation that had been much oppressed by the Romans, and was very impatient under their yoke. Lentulus and his party thought these ambassadors proper persons to raise commotions in Gaul, and bring that country to their interest, and therefore made them partners in the conspiracy. They likewise charged them with letters to their magistrates, and to Catiline. To the Gauls they promised liberty, and they desired Catiline to enfranchise the slaves, and march immediately to Rome. Along with the ambassadors, they sent one Titus of Crotona, to carry the letters to Catiline. But the measures of these inconsiderate men, who generally consulted upon their affairs over their wine and in company with women, were soon discovered by the indefatigable diligence, the sober address, and great capacity of Cicero. He had his emissaries in all parts of the city, to trace every step they took; and he had, besides, a secret correspondence

with many who pretended to join in the conſpiracy; by which means he got intelligence of their treating with thoſe ſtrangers.

In conſequence hereof, he laid an ambuſh for the Crotonian in the night, and ſeized him and the letters; the ambaſſadors themſelves privately lending him their aſſiſtance *. Early in the morning he aſſembled the ſenate in the temple of *Concord*, where he read the letters, and took the depoſitions of the witneſſes. Junius Silanus depoſed, that ſeveral perſons had heard Cethegus ſay, that three conſuls and four prætors would very ſoon be killed. The evidence of Piſo, a man of conſular dignity, contained circumſtances of the like nature. And Caius Sulpitius, one of the prætors, who was ſent to Cethegus's houſe, found there a great quantity of javelins, ſwords, poinards, and other arms, all new furbiſhed. At laſt, the ſenate giving the Crotonian a promiſe of indemnity, Lentulus ſaw himſelf entirely detected, and laid down his office (for he was then prætor): he put off his purple robe in the houſe, and took another more ſuitable to his preſent diſtreſs. Upon which, both he and his accomplices were delivered to the prætors, to be kept in cuſtody, but not in chains.

By this time it grew late, and as the people were waiting without in great numbers for the event of the day, Cicero went out and gave them an account of it. After which, they conducted him to the houſe of a friend who lived in his neighbourhood; his own being taken up with the women, who were then employed in the myſterious rites of the goddeſs, whom the Romans call *Bona*, or the *Good*, and the Greeks *Gynecea*. An annual ſacrifice is offered her in the conſul's houſe by his wife and mother, and the veſtal virgins give their attendance. When Cicero was retired to the apartments aſſigned him, with only a few friends, he began to conſider what puniſhment he ſhould inflict upon the criminals. He was extremely loth to proceed to a capital one, which the nature of their offence ſeemed to demand, as well by reaſon of the mildneſs of his diſpoſition, as for fear of incurring the cenſure of making an extravagant and ſevere uſe of his power againſt men who were of the

* Theſe ambaſſadors had been ſolicited by Umbrenus to join his party. Upon mature deliberation they thought it ſafeſt to abide by the ſtate, and diſcovered the plot to Fabius Sanga the patron of their nation.

the first families, and had powerful connections in Rome. On the other side, if he gave them a more gentle chastisement, he thought he should still have something to fear from them. He knew that they would never rest with any thing less than death, but would rather break out into the most desperate villainies, when their former wickedness was sharpened with anger and resentment. Besides, he might himself be branded with the mark of timidity and weakness, and the rather because he was generally supposed not to have much courage.

Before Cicero could come to a resolution, the women who were sacrificing observed an extraordinary presage. When the fire on the altar seemed to be extinguished, a strong and bright flame suddenly broke out of the embers. The other women were terrified at the prodigy, but the vestal virgins ordered Terentia, Cicero's wife, to go to him immediately, and command him from them, "Boldly to "follow his best judgment in the service of his country; "because the goddess, by the brightness of this flame, "promised him not only safety but glory in his enterprize." Terentia was by no means of a meek and timorous disposition, but had her ambition, and (as Cicero himself says) took a greater share with him in politics, than she permitted him to have in domestic business. She now informed him of the prodigy, and exasperated him against the criminals. His brother Quintus, and Publius Nigidius, one of his philosophical friends, whom he made great use of in the administration, strengthened him in the same purpose.

Next day, the senate met to deliberate on the punishment of the conspirators, and Silanus, being first asked his opinion, gave it for sending them to prison, and punishing them in the severest manner that was possible. The rest in their order agreed with him, till it came to Caius Cæsar, who was afterwards dictator. Cæsar, then a young man, and just in the dawn of power, both in his measures and his hopes, was taking that road which he continued in, till he turned the Roman Commonwealth into a monarchy. This was not observed by others, but Cicero had strong suspicions of him. He took care, however, not to give him a sufficient handle against him. Some say the consul had almost got the necessary proofs, and that Cæsar had a narrow escape. Others assert, that Cicero purposely neglected the informations that might have been had against him, for fear of his friends and his great interest. For, had

had Cæſar been brought under the ſame predicament with the conſpirators, it would rather have contributed to ſave than to deſtroy them.

When it came to his turn to give judgment, he roſe and declared, "Not for puniſhing them capitally, but for confiſcating their eſtates, and lodging them in any of the towns of Italy that Cicero ſhould pitch upon, where they might be kept in chains till Catiline was conquered*." To this opinion, which was on the merciful ſide, and ſupported with great eloquence by him who gave it, Cicero himſelf added no ſmall weight. For in his ſpeech he gave the arguments at large for both opinions, firſt for the former, and afterwards for that of Cæſar. And all Cicero's friends, thinking it would be leſs invidious for him, to avoid putting the criminals to death, were for the latter ſentence: inſomuch that even Silanus changed ſides, and excuſed himſelf by ſaying that he did not mean capital puniſhment, for that impriſonment was the ſevereſt which a Roman ſenator could ſuffer.

The matter thus went on, till it came to Lutatius Catulus. He declared for capital puniſhment; and Cato ſupported him, expreſſing in ſtrong terms his ſuſpicions of Cæſar; which ſo rouzed the ſpirit and indignation of the ſenate, that they made a decree for ſending the conſpirators to execution. Cæſar then oppoſed the confiſcating their goods; for he ſaid, it was unreaſonable, when they rejected the mild part of his ſentence, to adopt the ſevere. As the majoity ſtill inſiſted upon it, he appealed to the tribunes. The tribunes, indeed, did not put in their prohibition, but Cicero himſelf gave up the point, and agreed that the goods ſhould not be forfeited.

After this, Cicero went at the head of the ſenate to the criminals, who were not all lodged in one houſe, but in thoſe of the ſeveral prætors. Firſt he took Lentulus from the Palatine hill, and led him down the *Via Sacra*, and through the middle of the *forum*. The principal perſons in Rome attended the conſul on all ſides, like a guard; the people ſtood ſilent at the horror of the ſcene; and the youth looked on with fear and aſtoniſhment, as if they were initiated that day in ſome awful ceremonies of ariſtocratic power.

* Plutarch ſeems here to intimate that after the defeat of Catiline, they might be put upon their trial; but it appears from Salluſt that Cæſar had no ſuch intention.

power. When he had paſſed the *forum*, and was come to the priſon, he delivered Lentulus to the executioner. Afterwards he brought Cethegus, and all the reſt in their order, and they were put to death. In his return he ſaw others who were in the conſpiracy ſtanding thick in the *forum*. As theſe knew not the fate of their ringleaders, they were waiting for night, in order to go their reſcue, for they ſuppoſed them yet alive. Cicero, therefore, called out to them aloud, *They did live*. The Romans, who chooſe to avoid all inauſpicious words, in this manner expreſs death.

But this time it grew late, and as he paſſed through the *forum* to go to his own houſe, the people now did not conduct him in a ſilent and orderly manner, but crowded to hail him with loud acclamations and plaudits, calling him *the ſaviour and ſecond founder of Rome*. The ſtreets were illuminated* with a multitude of lamps and torches placed by the doors. The women held out lights from the tops of the houſes, that they might behold, and pay a proper compliment to the man who was followed with ſolemnity by a train of the greateſt men in Rome, moſt of whom had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſucceſsful wars, led up triumphs, and enlarged the empire both by ſea and land. All theſe, in their diſcourſe with each other as they went along, acknowledged that Rome was indebted to many generals and great men of that age for pecuniary acquiſitions, for rich ſpoils, for power, but for preſervation and ſafety to Cicero alone, who had reſcued her from ſo great and dreadful a danger. Not that his quaſhing the enterprize, and puniſhing the delinquents, appeared ſo extraordinary a thing; but the wonder was, that he could ſuppreſs the greateſt conſpiracy that ever exiſted, with ſo little inconvenience to the ſtate, without the leaſt ſedition or tumult. For many who had joined Catiline, left him on receiving intelligence of the fate of Lentulus and Cethegus; and that traitor giving Antony battle with the troops that remained, was deſtroyed with his whole army.

Yet ſome were diſpleaſed with this conduct and ſucceſs of Cicero, and inclined to do him all poſſible injury. At the head of this faction were ſome of the magiſtrates for the enſuing year; Cæſar who was to be prætor, and Metellus and

* Illuminations are of high antiquity. They came originally from the nocturnal celebration of religious myſteries; and on that account carried the idea of veneration and reſpect with them.

and Bestia tribunes *. These last entering upon their office a few days before that of Cicero's expired, would not suffer him to address the people. They placed their own benches on the *rostra*, and only gave him permission to take the oath upon laying down his office †, after which he was to descend immediately. Accordingly when Cicero went up, it was expected that he would take the customary oath; but silence being made, instead of the usual form, he adopted one that was new and singular. The purport of it was, that "He had saved his country, and preserved the "empire;" and all the people joined in it.

This exasperated Cæsar and the tribunes still more, and they endeavoured to create him new troubles. Among other things they proposed a decree for calling Pompey home with his army, to suppress the despotic power of Cicero. It was happy for him, and for the whole Commonwealth, that Cato was then one of the tribunes; for he opposed them with an authority equal to theirs, and a reputation that was much greater, and consequently broke their measures with ease. He made a set speech upon Cicero's consulship, and represented it in so glorious a light, that the highest honours were decreed him, and he was called *the father of his country*; a mark of distinction which none ever gained before. Cato bestowed that title on him before the people, and they confirmed it ‡.

His authority in Rome at that time was undoubtedly great; but he rendered himself obnoxious and burthensome to many, not by any ill action, but by continually praising and magnifying himself. He never entered the senate, the assembly of the people, or the courts of judicature, but Catiline and Lentulus were the burthen of his song. Not satisfied with this, his writings were so interlarded with encomiums on himself, that though his style was elegant and delightful, his discourses were disgusting and nauseous to the reader; for the blemish stuck to him like an incurable disease.

But

* Bestia went out of office on the eighth of December. Metellus and Sextius were tribunes.

† The consuls took two oaths; one, on entering into their office, that they would act according to the laws; and the other, on quitting it, that they had not acted contrary to the laws.

‡ Q. Catulus was the first who gave him the title. Cato, as tribune, confirmed it before the people.

But though he had ſuch an inſatiable avidity of honour, he was never unwilling that others ſhould have their ſhare. For he was entirely free from envy; and it appears from his works that he was moſt liberal in his praiſes, not only of the ancients, but of thoſe of his own time. Many of his remarkable ſayings, too, of this nature, are preſerved. Thus of Ariſtotle he ſaid, "That he was a river of flowing "gold;" and of Plato's dialogues, "That if Jupiter were "to ſpeak, he would ſpeak as he did." Theophraſtus he uſed to call his "particular favourite;" and being aſked which of Demoſthenes's orations he thought the beſt, he anſwered, "The longeſt." Some who affect to be zealous admirers of that orator, complain, indeed, of Cicero's ſaying in one of his epiſtles, "That Demoſthenes ſometimes "nodded in his orations:" but they forget the many great encomiums he beſtowed on him in other parts of his works; and do not conſider that he gave the title of *Philippics* to his orations againſt Mark Anthony, which were the moſt elaborate he ever wrote. There was not one of his cotemporaries celebrated either for his eloquence or philoſophy, whoſe fame he did not promote, either by ſpeaking or writing of him in an advantageous manner. He perſuaded Cæſar, when dictator, to grant Cratippus the Peripatetic, the freedom of Rome. He likewiſe prevailed upon the council of *Areopagus* to make out an order, for deſiring him to remain at Athens, to inſtruct the youth; and not deprive their city of ſuch an ornament. There are, moreover, letters of Cicero's to Herodes, and others to his ſon, in which he directs them to ſtudy philoſophy under Cratippus. But he accuſes Gorgias the rhetorician of accuſtoming his ſon to a life of pleaſure and intemperance, and therefore forbids the young man his ſociety. Amongſt his Greek letters, this, and another to Pelops the Byzantine, are all that diſcover any thing of reſentment. His reprimand to Gorgias certainly was right and proper, if he was the diſſolute man that he paſſed for; but he betrays an exceſſive meanneſs in his expoſtulations with Pelops, for neglecting to procure him certain honours from the city of Byzantium.

Theſe were the effects of his vanity. Superior keenneſs of expreſſion, too, which he had at command, led him into many violations of decorum. He pleaded for Munatius in a certain cauſe; and his client was acquitted in conſequence of his defence. Afterwards Munatius proſecuted Sabinus, one

one of Cicero's friends; upon which, he was ſo much tranſported with anger as to ſay, "Thinkeſt thou it was the "merit of thy cauſe that ſaved thee, and not rather the "cloud which I threw over thy crimes, and which kept "them from the ſight of the court." He had ſucceeded in an encomium on Marcus Craſſus from the *roſtrum*; and a few days after as publicly reproached him. "What!" ſaid Craſſus, "did you not lately praiſe me in the place "where you now ſtand?" "True;" anſwered Cicero, "but I did it by way of experiment, to ſee what I could "make of a bad ſubject." Craſſus had once affirmed, that none of his family ever lived above threeſcore years; but afterwards wanted to contradict it, and ſaid, "What could "I be thinking of when I aſſerted ſuch a thing?" "You "knew," ſaid Cicero, "that ſuch an aſſertion would be very "agreeable to the people of Rome." Craſſus happened one day to profeſs himſelf much pleaſed with that maxim of the ſtoics, "The good man is always rich *." "I "imagine," ſaid Cicero, "there is another more agreeable "to you, *All things belong to the prudent*." For Craſſus was notoriouſly covetous. Craſſus had two ſons, one of which reſembled a man called Accius ſo much, that his mother was ſuſpected of an intrigue with him. This young man ſpoke in the ſenate with great applauſe; and Cicero being aſked what he thought of him, anſwered in Greek, *axios Craſſou* †. When Craſſus was going to ſet out for Syria, he thought it better to leave Cicero his friend than his enemy, and therefore addreſſed him one day in an obliging manner, and told him he would come and ſup with him. Cicero accepted the offer with equal politeneſs. A few days after, Vatinius likewiſe applied to him by his friends, and deſired a reconciliation. "What!" ſaid Cicero, "does "Vatinius too want to ſup with me?" Such were his jeſts upon Craſſus. Vatinius had ſcrophulous tumours in his neck; and one day when he was pleading, Cicero called him "a tumid orator." An account was once brought Cicero that Vatinius was dead, which being afterwards contradicted, he ſaid, "May vengeance ſeize the tongue that "told

* ϖαντα ειναι τȣ σοφȣ. The Greek σοφος ſingnifies cunning, ſhrewd, prudent, as well as wiſe; and in any of the former acceptations the ſtoic maxim was applicable to Craſſus. Thus *frugi*, in Latin, is uſed indifferently either for ſaving prudence, or for ſober wiſdom.

† An ill-mannered pun, which ſignifies either that the young man was worthy of Craſſus, or that he was the ſon of Accius.

"told the lie!" When Cæſar propoſed a decree for diſtributing the lands in Campania among the ſoldiers, many of the ſenators were diſpleaſed at it; and Lucius Gellius, in particular, who was one of the oldeſt of them, ſaid, "That "ſhall never be while I live." "Let us wait a while then, "ſaid Cicero; for Gellius requires no very long credit." There was one Octavius who had it objected to him, that he was an African. One day, when Cicero was pleading, this man ſaid he could not hear him. "That is ſomewhat "ſtrange, ſaid Cicero; for you are not without a hole in "your ear*." When Metellus Nepos told him, "That "he had ruined more as an evidence, than he had ſaved as "an advocate:" "I grant it, ſaid Cicero, for I have more "truth than eloquence." A young man, who lay under the imputation of having given his father a poiſoned cake, talking in an inſolent manner, and threatening that Cicero ſhould feel the weight of his reproaches, Cicero anſwered, "I had much rather have them than your cake." Publius Seſtius had taken Cicero, among others, for his advocate, in a cauſe of ſome importance; and yet he would ſuffer no man to ſpeak but himſelf. When it appeared that he would be acquitted, and the judges were giving their verdict, Cicero called to him, and ſaid, "Seſtius, make the beſt "uſe of your time to-day, for to-morrow you will be out "of office†." Publius Cotta, who affected to be thought an able lawyer, though he had neither learning nor capacity, being called in as a witneſs in a certain cauſe, declared, "He knew nothing of the matter." "Perhaps," ſaid Cicero, "you think I am aſking you ſome queſtion in "law." Metellus Nepos, in ſome difference with Cicero, often aſking him, "Who is your father?" he replied, "Your mother has made it much more difficult for you to "anſwer that queſtion." For his mother had not the moſt unſullied reputation. This Metellus was himſelf a man of a light unbalanced mind. He ſuddenly quitted the tribunitial office, and ſailed to Pompey in Syria; and when he was there, he returned in a manner ſtill more abſurd. When his preceptor Philagrus died, he buried him in a pompous manner, and placed the figure of a crow in marble on

* A mark of ſlavery amongſt ſome nations; but the Africans wore pendants in their ears by way of ornament.

† Probably Seſtius, not being a profeſſed advocate, would not be employed to ſpeak for any body elſe; and therefore Cicero meant that he ſhould indulge his vanity in ſpeaking for himſelf.

on his monument*. "This," ſaid Cicero, "was one of the "wiſeſt things you ever did; for your preceptor has taught "you rather to fly than to ſpeak †." Marcus Appius having mentioned in the introduction to one of his pleadings, that his friend had deſired him to try every reſource of care, eloquence, and fidelity in his cauſe, Cicero ſaid, "What a hard-hearted man you are, not to do any one "thing that your friend has deſired of you?"

It ſeems not foreign to the buſineſs of an orator, to uſe this cutting raillery againſt enemies or opponents; but his employing it indiſcriminately, merely to raiſe a laugh, rendered him extremely obnoxious. To give a few inſtances: He uſed to call Marcas Aquilius, *Adraſtus*, becauſe he had two ſons-in-law who were both in exile ‡. Lucius Cotta, a great lover of wine, was cenſor when Cicero ſolicited the conſulſhip. Cicero, in the courſe of his canvaſs, happening to be thirſty, called for water, and ſaid to his friends who ſtood round him as he drank, "You "do well to conceal me, for you are afraid that the cenſor "will call me to account for drinking water." Meeting Voconius one day with three daughters, who were very plain women, he cried out:

On this conception Phœbus never ſmiled §.

Marcus Gellius, who was ſuppoſed to be of ſervile extraction, happening to read ſome letters in the ſenate with a loud and ſtrong voice, "Do not be ſurpriſed at it," ſaid Cicero, "for there have been public cryers in his family." Fauſtus, the ſon of Sylla the dictator, who had proſcribed great numbers of Romans, having run deep in debt, and waſted great part of his eſtate, was obliged to put up public bills for the ſale of it. Upon which Cicero ſaid, "I like "theſe bills much better than his father's."

Many hated him for theſe keen ſarcaſms; which encouraged Clodius and his faction to form their ſchemes againſt him. The occaſion was this. Clodius, who was of

* It was uſual among the ancients to place emblematic figures on the monuments of the dead; and theſe were either ſuch inſtruments as repreſented the profeſſion of the deceaſed, or ſuch animals as reſembled them in diſpoſition.

† Alluding to the celerity of his expeditions.

‡ Becauſe Adraſtus had married his daughters to Eteocles and Polynices, who were exiled.

§ A verſe of Sophocles, ſpeaking of Laius the father of Œdipus.

of a noble family, young and adventurous, entertained a paſſion for Pompeia, the wife of Cæſar. This induced him to get privately into the houſe, which he did in the habit of a female muſician. The women were offering in Cæſar's houſe that myſterious ſacrifice which is kept from the ſight and knowledge of men. But, though no man is ſuffered to aſſiſt in it, Clodius, who was very young, and had his face yet ſmooth, hoped to paſs through the women to Pompeia undiſcovered. As he entered a great houſe in the night, he was puzzled to find his way; and one of the women belonging to Aurelia, Cæſar's mother, ſeeing him wandering up and down, aſked him his name. Being now forced to ſpeak, he ſaid he was ſeeking Abra, one of Pompeia's maids. The woman, perceiving it was not a female voice, ſhrieked out, and called the matrons together. They immediately made faſt the doors, and, ſearching the whole houſe, found Clodius ſculking in the apartment of the maid who introduced him.

As the affair made a great noiſe, Cæſar divorced Pompeia, and proſecuted Clodius for that act of impiety. Cicero was at that time his friend; for, during the conſpiracy of Cataline, he had been ready to give him all the aſſiſtance in his power; and even attended as one of his guards. Clodius inſiſted in his defence, that he was not then at Rome, but at a conſiderable diſtance in the country. But Cicero atteſted that he came that very day to his houſe, and talked with him about ſome particular buſineſs. This was, indeed, matter of fact; yet probably it was not ſo much the influence of truth, as the neceſſity of ſatisfying his wife Terentia, that induced him to declare it. She hated Clodius on account of his ſiſter Clodia; for ſhe was perſuaded, that that lady wanted to get Cicero for her huſband; and that ſhe managed the deſign by one Tullus. As Tullus was an intimate friend of Cicero's, and likewiſe conſtantly paid his court to Clodia, who was his neighbour, that circumſtance ſtrengthened her ſuſpicions. Beſides, Terentia was a woman of an imperious temper, and, having an aſcendant over her huſband, ſhe put him upon giving evidence againſt Clodius. Many other perſons of honour alleged againſt him the crimes of perjury, of fraud, of bribing the people, and corrupting the women. Nay, Lucullus brought his maid-ſervants to prove that Clodius had a criminal commerce with his own ſiſter, who was the wife of that nobleman. This was the youngeſt of the ſiſters.

fifters. And it was generally believed that he had connections of the fame kind with his other fifters; one of which, named Tertia, was married to Martius Rex; and the other, Clodia, to Metellus Celer. The latter was called *Quadrantaria*, becaufe one of her lovers palmed upon her a purfe of fmall brafs money, inftead of filver; the fmalleft brafs coin being called a *Quadrans*. It was on this fifter's account that Clodius was moft cenfured. As the people fet themfelves both againft the witneffes and the profecutors, the judges were fo terrified, that they thought it neceffary to place a guard about the court; and moft of them confounded the letters upon the tablets *. He feemed, however, to be acquitted by the majority; but it was faid to be through pecuniary applications. Hence Catalus, when he met the judges, faid, "You were right in defiring a guard for your defence; for "you were afraid that fomebody would take the money "from you." And when Clodius told Cicero, that the judges did not give credit to his depofition; "Yes," faid he, "five and twenty of them believed me, for fo many "condemned you; nor did the other thirty believe you, "for they did not acquit you till they had received your "money." As to Cæfar, when he was called upon, he gave no teftimony againft Clodius; nor did he affirm that he was certain of any injury done his bed. He only faid, "He had divorced Pompeia, becaufe the wife of Cæfar "ought not only to be clear of fuch a crime, but of the "very fufpicion of it."

After Clodius had efcaped this danger, and was elected tribune of the people, he immediately attacked Cicero, and left neither circumftance nor perfon untried to ruin him. He gained the people by laws that flattered their inclinations, and the confuls by decreeing them large and wealthy provinces; for Pifo was to have Macedonia, and Gabinius Syria. He regiftered many mean and indigent perfons as citizens; and armed a number of flaves for his conftant attendants. Of the great triumvirate, Craffus was an avowed enemy to Cicero. Pompey indifferently careffed both parties, and Cæfar was going to fet out upon his expedition to Gaul. Though the latter was not his friend, but rather fufpected of enmity fince the affair of Catiline, it was to him that he applied. The favour he afked of him, was, that he would take him as his lieutenant; and Cæfar

* See the note on the parallel paffage in the life of Cæfar.

Cæſar granted it*. Clodius perceiving that Cicero would, by this means, get out of the reach of his tribunitial power, pretended to be inclined to a reconciliation. He threw moſt of the blame of the late difference on Terentia; and ſpoke always of Cicero in terms of candour, not like an adverſary vindictively inclined, but as one friend might complain of another. This removed Cicero's fears ſo entirely †, that he gave up the lieutenancy which Cæſar had indulged him with, and began to attend to buſineſs as before.

Cæſar was ſo much piqued at this proceeding, that he encouraged Clodius againſt him, and drew off Pompey entirely from his intereſt. He declared, too, before the people, that Cicero, in his opinion, had been guilty of a flagrant violation of all juſtice and law, in putting Lentulus and Cethegus to death, without any form of trial. This was the charge which he was ſummoned to anſwer. Cicero then put on mourning, let his hair grow, and, with every token of diſtreſs, went about to ſupplicate the people. Clodius took care to meet him every where in the ſtreets, with his audacious and inſolent crew, who inſulted him on his change of dreſs, and often diſturbed his applications by pelting him with dirt and ſtones. However, almoſt all the equeſtrian order went into mourning with him; and no fewer than twenty thouſand young men, of the beſt families, attended him with their hair diſhevelled, and intreated the people for him. Afterwards the ſenate met, with an intent to decree that the people ſhould change their habits, as in times of public mourning. But, as the conſuls oppoſed it, and Clodius beſet the houſe with his armed band of ruffians, many of the ſenators ran out, rending their garments, and exclaiming againſt the outrage.

But this ſpectacle excited neither compaſſion nor ſhame; and it appeared that Cicero muſt either go into exile, or decide the diſpute with the ſword. In this extremity he applied to Pompey for aſſiſtance; but he had purpoſely abſented himſelf, and remained at his Alban *villa*. Cicero firſt ſent his ſon-in-law Piſo to him, and afterwards went himſelf. When Pompey was informed of his arrival, he could

* Cicero ſays that this lieutenancy was a voluntary offer of Cæſar's. Ep. ad Att.

† It does not appear that Cicero was influenced by this conduct of Clodius: He had always expreſſed an indifference to the lieutenancy that was offered to him by Cæſar. Ep. ad Att. l. ii. 18.

could not bear to look him in the face. He was confounded at the thought of an interview with his injured friend, who had fought ſuch battles for him, and rendered him ſo many ſervices in the courſe of his adminiſtration. But being now ſon-in-law to Cæſar, he ſacrificed his former obligations to that connection, and went out at a back door, to avoid his preſence.

Cicero, thus betrayed and deſerted, had recourſe to the conſuls. Gabinius always treated him rudely; but Piſo behaved with ſome civility. He adviſed him to withdraw from the torrent of Clodius's rage; to bear this change of the times with patience; and to be once more the ſaviour of his country, which, for his ſake, was in all this trouble and commotion.

After this anſwer, Cicero conſulted with his friends. Lucullus adviſed him to ſtay, and aſſured him he would be victorious. Others were of opinion, that it was beſt to fly, becauſe the people would ſoon be deſirous of his return, when they were weary of the extravagance and madneſs of Clodius. He approved of this laſt advice; and taking a ſtatue of Minerva, which he had long kept in his houſe with great devotion, he carried it to the capitol, and dedicated it there, with this inſcription, TO MINERVA THE PROTECTRESS OF ROME. About midnight he privately quitted the city; and, with ſome friends who attended to conduct him, took his route on foot through Lucania, intending to paſs from thence to Sicily.

It was no ſooner known that he was fled, than Clodius procured a decree of baniſhment againſt him, which prohibited him fire and water, and admiſſion into any houſe within five hundred miles of Italy. But ſuch was the veneration the people had for Cicero, that in general there was no regard paid to the decree. They ſhewed him every ſort of civility, and conducted him on his way with the moſt cordial attention. Only at Hipponium, a city of Lucania, now called Vibo, one Vibius, a native of Sicily, who had particular obligations to him, and, among other things, had an appointment under him, when conſul, as ſurveyor of the works, now refuſed to admit him into his houſe; but, at the ſame time, acquainted him that he would appoint a place in the country for his reception. And Caius Virginius *, the prætor of Sicily, though indebted

* Some copies have it *Virgilius*.

debted to Cicero for considerable services, wrote to forbid him entrance into that island.

Discouraged at these instances of ingratitude, he repaired to Brundusium, where he embarked for Dyrrhachium. At first he had a favourable gale, but the next day the wind turned about, and drove him back to port. He set sail, however, again, as soon as the wind was fair. It is reported, that when he was going to land at Dyrrhachium, there happened to be an earthquake, and the sea retired to a great distance from the shore. The diviners inferred that his exile would be of no long continuance, for these were tokens of a sudden change. Great numbers of people came to pay their respects to him; and the cities of Greece strove which should shew him the greatest civilities; yet he continued dejected and disconsolate. Like a passionate lover, he often cast a longing look towards Italy, and behaved with a littleness of spirit, which could not have been expected from a man that had enjoyed such opportunities of cultivation from letters and philosophy. Nay, he had often desired his friends not to call him an orator, but a philosopher, because he had made philosophy his business, and rhetoric only the instrument of his political operations. But opinion * has great power to efface the tinctures of philosophy, and infuse the passions of the vulgar into the minds of statesmen, who have a necessary connexion and commerce with the multitude; unless they take care so to engage in every thing extrinsic, as to attend to the business only, without imbibing the passions that are the common consequence of that business.

After Clodius had banished Cicero, he burnt his *villas*, and his house in Rome; and on the place where the latter stood, erected a temple to Liberty. His goods he put up to auction, and the crier gave notice of it every day, but no buyer appeared. By these means, he became formidable to the patricians; and having drawn the people with him into the most audacious insolence and effrontery, he attacked Pompey, and called in question some of his acts and ordinances in the wars. As this exposed Pompey to some reflections, he blamed himself greatly for abandoning Cicero; and, entirely changing his plan, took every means for effecting his return. As Clodius constantly opposed them, the

* Δοξα signifies not only *opinion*, but *glory*, *fame*, and, by an easy figure, *a passion for fame*. The reader will choose which sense he thinks best.

the ſenate decreed that no public buſineſs of any kind ſhould be deſpatched by their body, till Cicero was recalled.

In the conſulſhip of Lentulus, the ſedition increaſed; ſome of the tribunes were wounded in the *forum*; and Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was left for dead among the ſlain. The people began now to change their opinion; and Annius Milo, one of the tribunes, was the firſt who ventured to call Clodius to anſwer for his violation of the public peace. Many of the people of Rome, and of the neighbouring cities, joined Pompey; with whoſe aſſiſtance he drove Clodius out of the *forum*; and then he ſummoned the citizens to vote. It is ſaid that nothing was ever carried among the commons with ſo great unanimity; and the ſenate endeavouring to give ſtill higher proofs of their attachment to Cicero, decreed that their thanks ſhould be given the cities which had treated him with kindneſs and reſpect during his exile; and that his town and country houſes, which Clodius had demoliſhed, ſhould be rebuilt at the public charge *.

Cicero returned ſixteen months after his baniſhment; and ſuch joy was expreſſed by the cities, ſo much eagerneſs to meet him by all ranks of people, that his own account of it is leſs than the truth, though he ſaid, "That Italy "had brought him on her ſhoulders to Rome." Craſſus, who was his enemy before his exile, now readily went to meet him, and was reconciled. In this, he ſaid, he was willing to oblige his ſon Publius, who was a great admirer of Cicero.

Not long after his return, Cicero taking his opportunity, when Clodius was abſent †, went up with a great company to the capitol, and deſtroyed the tribunitial tables, in which were recorded all the acts in Clodius's time. Clodius loudly complained of this proceeding; but Cicero anſwered, "That his appointment as tribune was irregular, becauſe "he was of a patrician family, and conſequently all his "acts were invalid." Cato was diſpleaſed, and oppoſed Cicero in this aſſertion. Not that he praiſed Clodius; on the contrary, he was extremely offended at his adminiſtration;



* The conſuls decreed for rebuilding his houſe in Rome near 11,000l. for his Tuſcan villa near 3000l. and for his Formian villa about half that ſum, which Cicero called a very ſcanty eſtimate.

† Cicero had attempted this once before, when Clodius was preſent; but Caius, the brother of Clodius, being prætor, by his means they were reſcued out of the hands of Cicero.

tion; but he reprefented, "That it would be a violent "ftretch of prerogative, for the fenate to annul fo many "decrees and acts, among which were his own commiffion "and his regulations at Cyprus and Byzantium." The difference which this produced between Cato and Cicero, did not come to an abfolute rupture; it only leffened the warmth of their friendfhip.

After this, Milo killed Clodius; and being arraigned for the fact, he chofe Cicero for his advocate. The fenate fearing that the profecution of a man of Milo's fpirit and reputation, might produce fome tumult in the city, appointed Pompey to prefide at this and the other trials; and to provide both for the peace of the city, and the courts of juftice. In confequence of which, he pofted a body of foldiers in the *forum* before day, and fecured every part of it. This made Milo apprehenfive that Cicero would be difconcerted at fo unufual a fight, and lefs able to plead. He therefore perfuaded him to come in a litter to the *forum*; and to repofe himfelf there till the judges were affembled, and the court filled. For he was not only timid in war, but he had his fear when he fpoke in public; and in many caufes he fcarce left trembling even in the height and vehemence of his eloquence. When he undertook to affift in the defence of Licinius Muræna*, againft the profecution of Cato, he was ambitious to outdo Hortenfius, who had already fpoken with great applaufe; for which reafon he fat up all night to prepare himfelf. But that watching and application hurt him fo much, that he appeared inferior to his rival.

When he came out of the litter to open the caufe of Milo, and faw Pompey feated on high, as in a camp, and weapons gliftering all around the *forum*, he was fo confounded that he could fcarce begin his oration. For he fhook, and his tongue faultered; though Milo attended the trial with great courage, and had difdained to let his hair grow, or to put on mourning. Thefe circumftances contributed not a little to his condemnation. As for Cicero, his trembling was imputed rather to his anxiety for his friend, than to any particular timidity.

Cicero was appointed one of the priefts called Augurs, in the room of young Craffus, who was killed in the Parthian war.

* Muræna had retained three advocates, Hortenfius, Marcus Craffus, and Cicero.

war. Afterwards the province of Cilicia was allotted to him; and he ſailed thither with an army of twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand ſix hundred horſe. He had it in charge to bring Cappadocia to ſubmit to king Ariobarzanes; which he performed to the ſatisfaction of all parties, without having recourſe to arms. And finding the Cilicians elated on the miſcarriage of the Romans in Parthia, and the commotions in Syria, he brought them to order by the gentleneſs of his government. He refuſed the preſents which the neighbouring princes offered him. He excuſed the province from finding him a public table, and daily entertained at his own charge perſons of honour and learning, not with magnificence indeed, but with elegance and propriety. He had no porter at his gate, nor did any man ever find him in bed; for he roſe early in the morning, and kindly received thoſe who came to pay their court to him, either ſtanding or walking before his door. We are told, that he never cauſed any man to be beaten with rods, or to have his garments rent*; never gave opprobrious language in his anger, nor added inſult to puniſhment. He recovered the public money which had been embezzled; and enriched the cities with it. At the ſame time, he was ſatisfied, if thoſe who had been guilty of ſuch frauds, made reſtitution, and fixed no mark of infamy upon them.

He had alſo a taſte of war; for he routed the bands of robbers that had poſſeſſed themſelves of Mount Amanus, and was ſaluted by his army *Imperator* on that account†. Cæcilius‡, the orator, having deſired him to ſend him ſome panthers from Cilicia for his games at Rome, in his anſwer he could not forbear boaſting of his achievements. He ſaid, "There were no panthers left in Cilicia. Thoſe "animals, in their vexation to find that they were the only "objects of war, while every thing elſe was at peace, were "fled into Caria."



* This mark of ignominy was of great antiquity. "Wherefore "Hanun took David's ſervants, and ſhaved off one half of their "beards, and cut off their garments to the middle, even to their "buttocks, and ſent them away." 2 Sam. x. 4.

† He not only received this mark of diſtinction, but public thankſgivings were ordered at Rome for his ſucceſs; and the people went near to decree him a triumph. His ſervices, therefore, muſt have been conſiderable, and Plutarch ſeems to mention them too ſlightly.

‡ Not Cæcilius, but Cælius. He was then ædile, and wanted the panthers for his public ſhews.

In his return from his province, he ſtopped at Rhodes, and afterwards made ſome ſtay at Athens; which he did with great pleaſure, in remembrance of the converſations he had formerly had there. He had now the company of all that were moſt famed for erudition; and viſited his former friends and acquaintance. After he had received all due honours and marks of eſteem from Greece, he paſſed on to Rome, where he found the fire of diſſention kindled, and every thing tending to a civil war.

When the ſenate decreed him a triumph, he ſaid, "He "had rather follow Cæſar's chariot wheels in his triumph, "if a reconciliation could be effected between him and "Pompey." And in private he tried every healing and conciliating method, by writing to Cæſar, and intreating Pompey. After it came to an open rupture, and Cæſar was on his march to Rome, Pompey did not chooſe to wait for him, but retired, with numbers of the principal citizens in his train. Cicero did not attend him in his flight; and, therefore, it was believed thar he would join Cæſar. It is certain that he fluctuated greatly in his opinion, and was in the utmoſt anxiety. For, he ſays, in his epiſtles, "Whither ſhall I turn?--Pompey has the more honour- "able cauſe; but Cæſar manages his affairs with the "greateſt addreſs, and is moſt able to ſave himſelf and his "friends. In ſhort, I know whom to avoid, but not "whom to ſeek." At laſt, one Trebatius, a friend of Cæſar's, ſignified to him by letter, that Cæſar thought he had reaſon to reckon him of his ſide, and to conſider him as partner of his hopes. But if his age would not permit it, he might retire into Greece, and live there in tranquillity, without any connection with either party. Cicero was ſurpriſed that Cæſar did not write himſelf, and anſwered angrily, "That he would do nothing unworthy of "his political character." Such is the account we have of the matter in his epiſtles.

However, upon Cæſar's marching for Spain, he croſſed the ſea, and repaired to Pompey. His arrival was agreeable to the generality; but Cato blamed him privately for taking this meaſure. "As for me," ſaid he, "it would have been "wrong to leave that party which I embraced from the "beginning; but you might have been much more "ſerviceable to your country and your friends, if you had "ſtayed at Rome, and accommodated yourſelf to events. "whereas now, without any reaſon or neceſſity, you "have

"have declared yourſelf an enemy to Cæſar, and are "come to ſhare in the danger with which you had nothing to do."

Theſe arguments made Cicero change his opinion; eſpecially when he found that Pompey did not employ him upon any conſiderable ſervice. It is true, no one was to be blamed for this but himſelf; for he made no ſecret of his repenting. He diſparaged Pompey's preparations; he inſinuated his diſlike of his counſels, and never ſpared his jeſts upon his allies. He was not, indeed, inclined to laugh himſelf; on the contrary, he walked about the camp with a very ſolemn countenance; but he often made others laugh, though they were little inclined to it. Perhaps, it may not be amiſs to give a few inſtances. When Domitius advanced a man who had no turn for war, to the rank of captain, and aſſigned for his reaſon, that he was an honeſt and prudent man; "Why then," ſaid Cicero, "do you not "keep him for governor to your children?" When ſome were commending Theophanes the Leſbian, who was director of the board of works, for conſoling the Rhodians on the loſs of their fleet, "See," ſaid Cicero, "what it is to "have a Grecian director!" When Cæſar was ſucceſsful in almoſt every inſtance, and held Pompey as it were beſieged, Lentulus ſaid, "He was informed that Cæſar's "friends looked very ſour." "You mean, I ſuppoſe," ſaid Cicero, "that they are out of humour with him." One Martius, newly arrived from Italy, told them, a report prevailed at Rome, that Pompey was blocked up in his camp: "Then," ſaid Cicero, "you took a voyage on pur-"poſe to ſee it." After Pompey's defeat, Nonnius ſaid, there was room yet for hope, for there were ſeven eagles left in the camp. Cicero anſwered, "That would be good encouragement, if we were to fight with jackdaws." When Labienus, on the ſtrength of ſome oracles, inſiſted that Pompey muſt be conqueror at laſt: "By this oracular "generalſhip" ſaid Cicero, "we have loſt our camp."

After the battle of Pharſalia (in which he was not preſent, on account of his ill health) and after the flight of Pompey, Cato, who had conſiderable forces, and a great fleet at Dyrrhachium, deſired Cicero to take the command, becauſe his conſular dignity gave him a legal title to it. Cicero, however, not only declined it, but abſolutely refuſed taking any farther ſhare in the war. Upon which, young Pompey and his friends called him traitor, drew

their ſwords, and would certainly have deſpatched him, had not Cato interpoſed, and conveyed him out of the camp.

He got ſafe to Brunduſium, and ſtayed there ſome time in expectation of Cæſar, who was detained by his affairs in Aſia and Ægypt. When he heard that the conqueror was arrived at Tarentum, and deſigned to proceed from thence by land to Brunduſium, he ſet out to meet him; not without hope, nor yet without ſome ſhame and reluctance at the thought of trying how he ſtood in the opinion of a victorious enemy before ſo many witneſſes. He had no occaſion, however, either to do or to ſay any thing beneath his dignity. Cæſar no ſooner beheld him, at ſome conſiderable diſtance, advancing before the reſt, than he diſmounted, and ran to embrace him; after which, he went on diſcourſing with him alone for many furlongs. He continued to treat him with great kindneſs and reſpect; inſomuch that when he had written an encomium on Cato, which bore the name of that great man, Cæſar, in his anſwer, entitled *Anticato*, praiſed both the eloquence and conduct of Cicero; and ſaid he greatly reſembled Pericles and Theramenes.

When Quintus Ligarius was proſecuted for bearing arms againſt Cæſar, and Cicero had undertaken to plead his cauſe, Cæſar is reported to have ſaid, "Why may we "not give ourſelves a pleaſure which we have not enjoy-"ed ſo long, that of hearing Cicero ſpeak; ſince I have "already taken my reſolution as to Ligarius, who is clearly "a bad man, as well as my enemy?" But he was greatly moved when Cicero began; and his ſpeech, as it proceeded, had ſuch a variety of pathos, ſo irreſiſtible a charm, that his colour often changed; and it was evident that his mind was torn with conflicting paſſions. At laſt, when the orator touched on the battle of Pharſalia, he was ſo extremely affected, that his whole frame trembled, and he let drop ſome papers out of his hand. Thus conquered by the force of eloquence, he acquitted Ligarius.

The commonwealth being changed into a monarchy, Cicero withdrew from the ſcene of public buſineſs, and beſtowed his leiſure on the young men who were deſirous to be inſtructed in philoſophy. As theſe were of the beſt families, by his intereſt with them, he once more obtained great authority in Rome. He made it his buſineſs to compoſe and tranſlate philoſophical dialogues, and, to render the

the Greek terms of logic and natural philoſophy in the Roman language. For it is ſaid, that he firſt, or principally, at leaſt, gave Latin terms for theſe Greek words, *phantaſia* [imagination], *ſyncatatheſis* [aſſent], *epoche* [doubt], *catalepſis* [comprehenſion], *atomos* [atom], *ameres* [indiviſible], *kenon* [void], and many other ſuch terms in ſcience; contriving either by metaphorical expreſſion, or ſtrict tranſlation, to make them intelligible and familiar to the Romans. His ready turn for poetry afforded him amuſement; for, we are told, when he was intent upon it, he could make five hundred verſes in one night. As in this period he ſpent moſt of his time at his Tuſculan *villa*, he wrote to his friends, "That he led the life of Laertes;" either by way of raillery, as his cuſtom was, or from an ambitious deſire of public employment, and diſcontent in his preſent ſituation. Be that as it may, he rarely went to Rome, and then only to pay his court to Cæſar. He was always one of the firſt to vote him additional honours; and forward to ſay ſomething new of him and his actions. Thus, when Cæſar ordered Pompey's ſtatues, which had been pulled down, to be erected again, Cicero ſaid, "That, by "this act of humanity in ſetting up Pompey's ſtatues, he "had eſtabliſhed his own."

It is reported that he had formed a deſign to write the hiſtory of his own country, in which he would have interwoven many of the Grecian affairs, and inſerted not only their ſpeeches, but fables. But he was prevented by many diſagreeable circumſtances, both public and private, into moſt of which he brought himſelf by his own indiſcretion. For, in the firſt place, he divorced his wife Terentia. The reaſons he aſſigned, were, that ſhe had neglected him during the war; and even ſent him out without neceſſaries. Beſides, after his return to Italy, ſhe behaved to him with little regard, and did not wait on him during his long ſtay at Brunduſium. Nay, when his daughter, at that time very young, took ſo long a journey to ſee him, ſhe allowed her but an indifferent equipage, and inſufficient ſupplies. Indeed, according to his account, his houſe was become naked and empty, through the many debts which ſhe had contracted. Theſe were the moſt ſpecious pretences for the divorce. Terentia, however, denied all theſe charges; and Cicero himſelf made a full apology for her, by marrying a younger woman not long after. Terentia ſaid, he took her merely for her beauty; but his freedman

Tyro affirms that he married her for her wealth, that it might enable him to pay his debts. She was, indeed, very rich, and her fortune was in the hands of Cicero, who was left her guardian. As his debts were great, his friends and relations perfuaded him to marry the young lady, notwithftanding the difparity of years, and fatisfy his creditors out of her fortune.

Antony, in his anfwer to the Philippics, taxes him with "Repudiating a wife with whom he was grown old *;" and rallies him on account of his perpetually keeping at home, like a man unfit either for bufinefs or war. Not long after this match, his daughter Tullia, who, after the death of Pifo, had married Lentulus, died in child-bed. The philofophers came from all parts to comfort him: For his lofs affected him extremely; and he even put away his new bride, becaufe fhe feemed to rejoice at the death of Tullia. In this pofture were Cicero's domeftic affairs.

As to thofe of the public, he had no fhare in the confpiracy againft Cæfar, though he was one of Brutus's particular friends; and no man was more uneafy under the new eftablifhment, or more defirous of having the commonwealth reftored. Poffibly they feared his natural deficiency of courage, as well as his time of life, at which the boldeft begin to droop. After the work was done by Brutus and Caffius, the friends of Cæfar affembled to revenge his death; and it was apprehended that Rome would again be plunged in civil wars. Antony, who was conful, ordered a meeting of the fenate, and made a fhort fpeech on the neceffity of union. But Cicero expatiated in a manner fuitable to the occafion; and perfuaded the fenate, in imitation of the Athenians, to pafs a general amnefty as to all that had been done againft Cæfar; and to decree provinces to Brutus and Caffius.

None of thefe things, however, took effect: For the people were inclined to pity on this event; and when they beheld the dead body of Cæfar carried into the *forum*, where Antony fhewed them his robe ftained with blood, and pierced on all fides with fwords, they broke out into a tranfport of rage. They fought all over the *forum* for the actors in that tragedy, and ran with lighted torches to burn their houfes. By their precaution they efcaped this danger; but as they faw others, no lefs confiderable, impending, they left the city.

Antony

* Cicero was then fixty-two.

Antony, elated with this advantage, became formidable to all the oppofite party, who fuppofed that he would aim at nothing lefs than abfolute power; but Cicero had particular reafon to dread him. For being fenfible that Cicero's weight in the adminiftration was eftablifhed again, and of his ftrong attachment to Brutus, Antony could hardly bear his prefence. Befides, there had long been fome jealoufy and diflike between them on account of the diffimilarity of their lives. Cicero fearing the event, was inclined to go with Dolabella into Syria, as his lieutenant. But afterwards Hirtius and Panfa, who were to be confuls after Antony, perfons of great merit, and good friends to Cicero, defired him not to leave them; and promifed, with his affiftance, to deftroy Antony. Cicero, without depending much on their fcheme, gave up that of going with Dolabella, and agreed with the confuls' elect to pafs the fummer in Athens, and return when they entered upon their office.

Accordingly he embarked for that place without taking any principal Roman along with him. But his voyage being accidentally retarded, news was brought from Rome, (for he did not choofe to be without news) that there was a wonderful change in Antony; that he took all his fteps agreeably to the fenfe of the fenate; and that nothing but his prefence was wanting to bring matters to the beft eftablifhment. He therefore condemned his exceffive caution, and returned to Rome.

His firft hopes were not difappointed. Such crowds came out to meet him, that almoft a whole day was fpent at the gates, and on his way home, in compliments and congratulations. Next day Antony convened the fenate, and fent for Cicero; but he kept his bed, pretending that he was indifpofed with his journey. In reality, he feems to have been afraid of affaffination, in confequence of fome hints he received by the way. Antony was extremely incenfed at thefe fuggeftions, and ordered a party of foldiers either to bring him, or to burn his houfe in cafe of refufal. However, at the requeft of numbers who interpofed, he revoked that order, and bade them only bring a pledge from his houfe.

After this, when they happened to meet, they paffed each other in filence, and lived in mutual diftruft. Meantime, young Cæfar, arriving from Apollonia, put in his claim

claim as heir to his uncle, and sued Antony for twenty-five million *drachmas* *, which he detained of the estate.

Hereupon, Philip, who had married the mother, and Marcellus, who was husband to the sister of Octavius, brought him to Cicero. It was agreed between them, that Cicero should assist Cæsar with his eloquence and interest, both with the senate and the people; and that Cæsar should give Cicero all the protection that his wealth and military influence could afford. For the young man had already collected a considerable number of the veterans who had served under his uncle.

Cicero received the offer of his friendship with pleasure. For while Pompey and Cæsar were living, Cicero, it seems, had a dream, in which he thought he called some boys, the sons of senators, up to the capitol, because Jupiter designed to pitch upon one of them for sovereign of Rome. The citizens ran with all the eagerness of expectation, and placed themselves about the temple; and the boys in their *prætextæ* sat silent. The doors suddenly opening, the boys rose up one by one, and, in their order, passed round the god, who reviewed them all, and sent them away disappointed: But when Octavius approached, he stretched out his hand to him, and said, "Romans, this is the "person who, when he comes to be your prince, will put "an end to your civil wars." This vision, they tell us, made such an impression upon Cicero, that he perfectly retained the figure and countenance of the boy, though he did not yet know him. Next day, he went down to the *campus martius*, when the boys were just returning from their exercises; and the first who struck his eye, was the lad in the very form that he had seen in his dream. Astonished at the discovery, Cicero asked him who were his parents; and he proved to be the son of Octavius, a person not much distinguished in life, and of Attia, sister to Cæsar. And he was so near a relation, and Cæsar had no children of his own, he adopted him, and, by will, left him his estate. Cicero, after his dream, whenever he met young Octavius, is said to have treated him with particular regard; and he received those marks of his friendship with great satisfaction. Besides, he happened to be born the year that Cicero was consul.

These

* Plutarch is mistaken in the sum. It appears from Paterculus, and others, that [illegible] seven times as much.

These were pretended to be the causes of their present connection. But the leading motive with Cicero was his hatred of Antony; and the next his natural avidity of glory. For he hoped to throw the weight of Octavius into the scale of the Commonwealth; and the latter behaved to him with such a puerile deference *, that he even called him father. Hence Brutus, in his letters to Atticus, expressed his indignation against Cicero, and said, "That, "as through fear of Antony, he paid his court to young "Cæsar, it was plain that he took not his measures for "the liberty of his country, but only to obtain a gentle "master for himself." Nevertheless, Brutus finding the son of Cicero at Athens, where he was studying under the philosophers, gave him a command, and employed him upon many services which proved successful.

Cicero's power at this time was at its greatest height; he carried every point that he desired; insomuch that he expelled Antony, and raised such a spirit against him, that the consuls Hirtius and Pansa were sent to give him battle; and Cicero likewise prevailed upon the senate to grant Cæsar the *fasces*, with the dignity of prætor, as one that was fighting for his country.

Antony, indeed, was beaten; but both the consuls falling in the action, the troops ranged themselves under the banners of Cæsar. The senate now fearing the views of a young man, who was so much favoured by fortune, endeavoured by honours and gifts to draw his forces from him, and to diminish his power. They alleged, that, as Antony was put to flight, there was no need to keep such an army on foot. Cæsar, alarmed at these vigorous measures, privately sent some friends to intreat and persuade Cicero to procure the consulship for them both; promising, at the same time, that he should direct all affairs, according to his better judgment, and find him perfectly tractable, who was but a youth, and had no ambition for any thing but the title and the honour. Cæsar himself acknowledged afterwards, that, in his apprehensions of being entirely ruined and deserted, he seasonably availed himself of Cicero's ambition,

* The Greek is *προς το μειρακιον*, which is used adverbially for *pueriliter*. Thus Sophocles uses *προς καιρον* adverbially for *tempestive*, and *προς αφθονιαν* for *abundé*. The commentators not adverting to this, have declared the text corrupt, and puzzled themselves needlessly to restore it.

ambition, persuaded him to stand for the consulship, and undertook to support his application with his whole interest.

In this case particularly, Cicero, old as he was, suffered himself to be imposed upon by this young man, solicited the people for him, and brought the senate into his interest. His friends blamed him for it at the time; and it was not long before he was sensible that he had ruined himself, and given up the liberties of his country. For Cæsar was no sooner strengthened with the consular authority, than he gave up Cicero*; and reconciling himself to Antony and Lepidus, he united his power with theirs, and divided the empire among them, as if it had been a private estate. At the same time, they proscribed above two hundred persons whom they had pitched upon for a sacrifice. The greatest difficulty and dispute was about the proscription of Cicero. For Antony would come to no terms, till he was first taken off. Lepidus agreed with Antony in this preliminary; but Cæsar opposed them both. They had a private congress for these purposes near the city of Bononia, which lasted three days. The place where they met was over against their camps, a little island in the river. Cæsar is said to have contended for Cicero the two first days; but the third he gave him up. The sacrifices on each part were these: Cæsar was to abandon Cicero to his fate; Lepidus, his brother Paulus; and Antony, Lucius Cæsar, his uncle, by the mother's side. Thus rage and rancour entirely stifled in them all sentiments of humanity; or, more properly speaking, they shewed that no beast is more savage than man, when he is possessed of power equal to his passion.

While his enemies were thus employed, Cicero was at his Tusculan *villa*, and his brother Quintus with him. When they were informed of the proscription, they determined to remove to Astyra, a country-house of Cicero's near the sea; where they intended to take a ship, and repair to Brutus in Macedonia. For it was reported, that he was already very powerful in those parts. They were carried in their separate litters, oppressed with sorrow and despair; and often joining their litters on the road, they stopped to bemoan their mutual misfortunes. Quintus was the more dejected, because he was in want of necessaries; for, as he said, he had

* Instead of taking him for his colleague, he chose Quintus Pedius.

had brought nothing from home with him. Cicero, too, had but a ſlender proviſion. They concluded, therefore, that it would be beſt for Cicero to haſten his flight, and for Quintus to return to his houſe, and get ſome ſupplies. This reſolution being fixed upon, they embraced each other with every expreſſion of ſorrow, and then parted.

A few days after, Quintus and his ſon were betrayed by his ſervants to the aſſaſſins who came in queſt of them, and loſt their lives. As for Cicero, he was carried to Aſtyra; where finding a veſſel, he immediately went on board, and coaſted along to Circæum, with a favourable wind. The pilots were preparing immediately to ſail from thence; but whether it was that he feared the ſea, or had not yet given up all his hopes in Cæſar, he diſembarked, and travelled a hundred furlongs on foot, as if Rome had been the place of his deſtination. Repenting, however, afterwards, he left that road, and made again for the ſea. He paſſed the night in the moſt perplexing and horrid thoughts; inſomuch, that he was ſometimes inclined to go privately into Cæſar's houſe, and ſtab himſelf upon the altar of his domeſtic gods, to bring the divine vengeance upon his betrayer. But he was deterred from this by the fear of torture. Other alternatives, equally diſtreſsful, preſented themſelves. At laſt, he put himſelf in the hands of his ſervants, and ordered them to carry him by ſea to Cajeta*, where he had a delightful retreat in the ſummer, when the Eteſian winds ſet in†. There was a temple of Apollo on that coaſt, from which a flight of crows came, with great noiſe, towards Cicero's veſſel, as it was making land. They perched on both ſides the ſail-yard, where ſome ſat croaking and others pecking the ends of the ropes. All looked upon this as an ill omen; yet Cicero went on ſhore, and, entering his houſe, lay down to repoſe himſelf. In the mean time, a number of the crows ſettled in the chamber-window, and croaked in the moſt doleful manner. One of them even entered it, and alighting on the bed, attempted, with its beak, to draw off the clothes with which he had covered his face. On ſight of this, the ſervants began to reproach themſelves. "Shall we," ſaid they, "remain to be ſpectators of our maſter's murder? "Shall

* In the printed text it is καπιτας; but a manuſcript gives us καιαττα. According to Appian, Cicero was killed near Capua; but Valerius Maximus ſays, the ſcene of that tragedy was at Cajeta.

† The north-eaſt winds.

"Shall we not protect him, so innocent and so great a "sufferer as he is, when the brute creatures give him "marks of their care and attention?" Then partly by intreaty, partly by force, they got him into his litter, and carried him towards the sea.

Meantime the assassins came up. They were commanded by Herennius, a centurion, and Pompilius, a tribune, whom Cicero had formerly defended when under a prosecution for parricide. The doors of the house being made fast, they broke them open. Still Cicero did not appear, and the servants who were left behind, said they knew nothing of him. But a young man, named Philologus, his brother Quintus's freedman, whom Cicero had instructed in the liberal arts and sciences, informed the tribune, that they were carrying the litter through deep shades to the sea-side. The tribune, taking a few soldiers with him, ran to the end of the walk where he was to come out. But Cicero perceiving that Herennius was hastening after him, ordered his servants to set the litter down; and putting his left hand to his chin, as it was his custom to do, he looked stedfastly upon his murderers. Such an appearance of misery in his face, overgrown with hair, and wasted with anxiety, so much affected the attendants of Herennius, that they covered their faces during the melancholy scene. That officer despatched him, while he stretched his neck out of the litter to receive the blow. Thus fell Cicero, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Herennius cut off his head, and, by Antony's command, his hands too, with which he had written the *Philippics*. Such was the title he gave his orations against Antony, and they retain it to this day.

When these parts of Cicero's body were brought to Rome, Antony happened to be holding an assembly for the election of magistrates. He no sooner beheld them, than he cried out, "Now let there be an end of all proscriptions." He ordered the head and hands to be fastened up over the *rostra*, a dreadful spectacle to the Roman people, who thought they did not so much see the face of Cicero, as a picture of Antony's soul. Yet he did one act of justice on this occasion, which was the delivering up Philologus to Pomponia the wife of Quintus. When she was mistress of his fate, beside other horrid punishments, she made him cut off his own flesh by piece-meal, and roast and eat it. This is the account

account ſome hiſtorians give us; but Tyro, Cicero's freedman, makes no mention of the treachery of Philologus.

I am informed, that a long time after, Cæſar going to ſee one of his grandſons, found him with a book of Cicero's in his hands. The boy, alarmed at the accident, endeavoured to hide the book under his robe; which Cæſar perceived, and took it from him; and after having run moſt of it over as he ſtood, he returned it, and ſaid, "My "dear child, this was an eloquent man, and a lover of his "country."

Being conſul at the time when he conquered Antony, he took the ſon of Cicero for his colleague; under whoſe auſpices the ſenate took down the ſtatues of Antony, defaced all the monuments of his honour, and decreed, that, for the future, none of his family ſhould bear the name of Marcus. Thus the divine juſtice reſerved the completion of Antony's puniſhment for the houſe of Cicero.

# DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO COMPARED.

THESE are the moſt memorable circumſtances in the lives of Demoſthenes and Cicero, that could be collected from the hiſtorians which have come to our knowledge. Though I ſhall not pretend to compare their talents for ſpeaking; yet this, I think, I ought to obſerve, that Demoſthenes, by the exertion of all his powers, both natural and acquired, upon that object only, came to exceed in energy and ſtrength, the moſt celebrated pleaders of his time; in grandeur and magnificence of ſtyle, all that were eminent for the ſublime of declamation; and in accuracy and art, the moſt able profeſſors of rhetoric. Cicero's ſtudies were more general; and, in his treaſures of knowledge, he had a great variety. He has left us a number of philoſophical tracts, which he compoſed upon the principles of the academy. And we ſee ſomething of an oſtentation of learning in the very orations which he wrote for the *forum* and the bar.

Their different tempers are diſcernible in their way of writing. That of Demoſthenes, without any embelliſhments of wit and humour, is always grave and ſerious. Nor does it ſmell of the lamp, as Pytheas tauntingly ſaid, but

but of the water-drinker, of the man of thought, of one who was characterized by the austerities of life. But Cicero, who loved to indulge his vein of pleasantry, so much affected the wit, that he sometimes sunk into the buffoon; and by affecting gaiety in the most serious things to serve his client, he has offended against the rules of propriety and decorum. Thus, in his oration for Cælius, he says, "Where is the absurdity, if a man, with an affluent fortune at command, shall indulge himself in pleasure? It would be madness not to enjoy what is in his power; particularly, when some of the greatest philosophers place man's chief good in pleasure *?"

When Cato impeached Murena, Cicero, who was then consul undertook his defence; and, in his pleading, took occasion to ridicule several paradoxes of the stoics, because Cato was of that sect. He succeeded so far as to raise a laugh in the assembly; and even among the judges. Upon which Cato smiled, and said to those who sat by him, "What a pleasant consul we have!" Cicero, indeed, was naturally facetious; and he not only loved his jest, but his countenance was gay and smiling. Whereas Demosthenes had a care and thoughtfulness in his aspect, which he seldom or never put off. Hence his enemies, as he confesses, called him a morose ill-natured man.

It appears also from their writings, that Demosthenes, when he touches upon his own praise, does it with an inoffensive delicacy. Indeed, he never gives into it at all, but when he has some great point in view; and on all other occasion is extremely modest. But Cicero, in his orations, speaks in such high terms of himself, that it is plain he had a most intemperate vanity. Thus he cries out:

> Let arms revere the robe, the warrior's laurel
> Yield to the palm of eloquence.

At length he came to commend not only his own actions and operations in the commonwealth, but his orations too, as well those which he had only pronounced, as those which he had committed to writing, as if, with a juvenile vanity, he were vying with the rhetoricians Isocrates and Anaximenes,

* Plutarch has not quoted this passage with accuracy. Cicero apologizes for the excesses of youth; but does not defend or approve the pursuit of pleasure.

nes, inſtead of being inſpired with the great ambition of guiding the Roman people,

Fierce in the field, and dreadful to the foe.

It is neceſſary, indeed, for a ſtateſman to have the advantage of eloquence; but it is mean and illiberal to reſt in ſuch a qualification, or to hunt after praiſe in that quarter. In this reſpect Demoſthenes behaved with more dignity, with a ſuperior elevation of ſoul. He ſaid, "His ability "to explain himſelf was a mere acquiſition; and not ſo "perfect, but that it required great candour and indul- "gence in the audience." He thought it muſt be, as indeed it is, only a low and little mind, that can value itſelf upon ſuch attainments.

They both, undoubtedly, had political abilities, as well as powers to perſuade. They had them in ſuch a degree, that men who had armies at their devotion, ſtood in need of their ſupport. Thus Chares, Diopithes, and Leoſthenes, availed themſelves of Demoſthenes; Pompey, and young Cæſar, of Cicero; as Cæſar himſelf acknowledges in his Commentaries addreſſed to Agrippa and Mæcenas.

It is an obſervation no leſs juſt than common, that nothing makes ſo thorough a trial of a man's diſpoſition, as power and authority. For they awake every paſſion, and diſcover every latent vice. Demoſthenes never had an opportunity for a trial of this kind. He never obtained any eminent charge; nor did he lead thoſe armies againſt Philip, which his eloquence had raiſed. But Cicero went quæſtor into Sicily, and proconſul into Cicilia and Capdadocia; at a time, too, when avarice reigned without controul; when the governors of provinces thinking it beneath them to take a clandeſtine advantage, fell to open plunder; when to take another's property was thought no great crime, and he who took moderately paſſed for a man of character. Yet, at ſuch a time as this, Cicero gave many proofs of his contempt of money; many of his humanity and goodneſs. At Rome, with the title only of conſul, he had an abſolute and dictatorial power againſt Catiline and his accomplices. On which occaſion he verified the prediction of Plato, "That every ſtate will be delivered from its "calamities, when, by the favour of fortune, great power "unites with wiſdom and juſtice in one perſon."

It is mentioned to the diſgrace of Demoſthenes, that his eloquence was mercenary; that he privately compoſed orations

tions both for Phormio and Apollodorus, though adversaries in the same cause. To which we may add, that he was suspected of receiving money from the king of Persia, and condemned for taking bribes of Harpalus. Supposing some of these the calumnies of those who wrote against him; (and they are not a few) yet it is impossible to affirm that he was proof against the presents which were sent him by princes, as marks of honour and respect. This was too much to be expected from a man who vested his money at interest upon ships. Cicero, on the other hand, had magnificent presents sent him by the Sicilians, when he was ædile; by the king of Cappadocia, when proconsul; and his friends pressed him to receive their benefactions, when in exile; yet, as we have already observed, he refused them all.

The banishment of Demosthenes reflected infamy upon him; for he was convicted of taking bribes: that of Cicero, great honour; because he suffered for destroying traitors, who had vowed the ruin of their country. The former, therefore, departed without exciting pity or regret: for the latter, the senate changed their habit, continued in mourning, and could not be persuaded to pass any act, till the people had recalled him. Cicero, indeed, spent the time of exile in an inactive manner in Macedonia; but with Demosthenes it was a busy period in his political character. Then it was (as we have mentioned above) that he went to the several cities of Greece, strengthened the common interest, and defeated the designs of the Macedonian ambassadors. In which respect he discovered a much greater regard for his country, than Themistocles and Alcibiades, when under the same misfortune. After his return, he pursued his former plan of government, and continued the war with Antipater and the Macedonians. Whereas Lælius reproached Cicero in full senate, with sitting silent, when Cæsar, who was not yet come to years of maturity, applied for the consulship contrary to law. And Brutus, in one of his letters, charged him with "having reared a greater "and more insupportable tyranny, than that which they "had destroyed."

As to the manner of their death, we cannot think of Cicero's, without a contemptuous kind of pity. How deplorable to see an old man, for want of proper resolution, suffering himself to be carried about by his servants, endeavouring to hide himself from death, which was a messenger that

that nature would ſoon have ſent him, and overtaken notwithſtanding and ſlaughtered by his enemies! The other, though he did diſcover ſome fear, by taking ſanctuary, is, nevertheleſs, to be admired for the proviſion he had made of poiſon, for the care with which he had preſerved it, and his noble manner of uſing it. So that, when Neptune did not afford him an aſylum, he had recourſe to a more inviolable altar, reſcued himſelf from the weapons of the guards, and eluded the cruelty of Antipater.

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# DEMETRIUS.

THOSE who firſt thought that the arts might be compared to the ſenſes, in the perception of their reſpective objects, appear to me to have well underſtood the power by which that perception was to be formed, the power of diſtinguiſhing contrary qualities; for this they have in common. But in the mode of diſtinguiſhing, as well as in the end of what is diſtinguiſhed, they evidently differ. The ſenſes, for inſtance, have no connate power of perceiving a white object more than a black one; what is ſweet, more than what is bitter; or what is ſoft and yielding, more than what is hard and ſolid. Their office is to receive impreſſions from ſuch objects as ſtrike upon them, and to convey thoſe impreſſions to the mind. But the operation of the arts is more rational. They are not, like the ſenſes, paſſive in their perceptions. They chooſe or reject what is proper or improper. What is good they attend to primarily and intentionally; and what is evil, only accidentally, in order to avoid it. Thus, the art of medicine conſiders the nature of diſeaſes; and muſic that of diſcordant ſounds, in order to produce their contraries. And the moſt excellent of all arts, temperance, juſtice, and prudence, teach us to judge not only of what is honourable, juſt, and uſeful, but alſo of what is pernicious, diſgraceful, and unjuſt. Theſe arts beſtow no praiſe on that innocence which boaſts of an entire ignorance of vice; in their reckoning, it is rather an abſurd ſimplicity to be ignorant of thoſe things, which every man that is diſpoſed to live virtuouſly ſhould make it his particular care to know. Accordingly the ancient Spartans, at their feaſts, uſed to compel the *helots* to drink an exceſſive quantity of wine, and then

then bring them into the public halls where they dined, to ſhew the young men what drunkenneſs was.

We do not, indeed, think it agreeable, either to humanity or good policy, to corrupt ſome of the ſpecies, in order to corrupt others. Yet, perhaps, it may not be amiſs to inſert among the reſt of the lives, a few examples of thoſe who have abuſed their power to the purpoſes of licentiouſneſs, and whoſe elevation has only made their vices greater and more conſpicuous. Not that we adduce them to give pleaſure, or to adorn our paintings with the graces of variety; but we do it from the ſame motive with Iſmenias the Theban muſician, who preſented his ſcholars both with good and bad performers on the flute; and uſed to ſay, "Thus you muſt play, and, Thus you muſt not play." And Antigenidas obſerved, "That young men would hear "able performers with much greater pleaſure, after they "had heard bad ones." In like manner, according to my opinion, we ſhall behold and imitate the virtuous with greater attention, if we be not entirely unacquainted with the characters of the vicious and infamous.

In this book, therefore, we ſhall give the lives of Demetrius ſurnamed *Poliorcetes*, and of Antony the *triumvir*, men who have moſt remarkably verified that obſervation of Plato, "That great parts produces great vices, as well as "virtues." They were equally addicted to wine and women; both excellent ſoldiers, and perſons of great munificence; but, at the ſame time, prodigal and inſolent. There was the ſame reſemblance in their fortune. For, in the courſe of their lives, they met both with great ſucceſs, and great diſappointments; now, extending their conqueſts with the utmoſt rapidity, and now loſing all; now falling beyond all expectation; and now recovering themſelves when there was as little proſpect of ſuch a change. This ſimilarity there was in their lives; and in the concluding ſcene there was not much difference; for the one was taken by his enemies, and died in captivity, and the other was near ſharing the ſame fate.

Antigonus having two ſons by Stratonice, the daughter of Corræus, called the one, after his brother, Demetrius, and the other, after his father, Philip. So moſt hiſtorians ſay. But ſome affirm that Demetrius was not the ſon of Antigonus, but his nephew; and that his father dying and leaving him an infant, and his mother ſoon after marrying Antigonus,

Antigonus, he was, on that account, considered as his son. Philip, who was not many years younger than Demetrius, died at an early period. Demetrius, though tall, was not equal in size to his father Antigonus. But his beauty and his mien were so inimitable, that no statuary or painter could hit off a likeness. His countenance had a mixture of grace and dignity; and was at once amiable and awful; and the unsubdued and eager air of youth was blended with the majesty of the hero and the king. There was the same happy mixture in his behaviour, which inspired, at the same time, both pleasure and awe. In his hours of leisure, a most agreeable companion; in his table, and every species of entertainment, of all princes the most delicate; and yet, when business called, nothing could equal his activity, his diligence, and despatch. In which respect he imitated Bacchus most of all the gods; since he was not only terrible in war, but knew how to terminate war with peace, and turn with the happiest address to the joys and pleasures which that inspires.

His affection for his father was remarkably great; and in the respect he paid his mother, his love for his other parent was very discernible. His duty was genuine, and not in the least influenced by the considerations of high station or power. Demetrius happening to come from hunting, when his father was giving audience to some ambassadors, went up and saluted him, and then sat down by him with his javelins in his hand. After they had received their answer, and were going away, Antigonus called out to them, and said, "You may mention, too, "the happy terms upon which I am with my son." By which he gave them to understand, that the harmony and confidence in which they lived, added strength to the kingdom, and security to his power. So incapable is regal authority of admitting a partner, so liable to jealousy and hatred, that the greatest and oldest of Alexander's successors rejoiced that he had no occasion to fear his own son, but could freely let him approach him with his weapons in his hand. Indeed, we may venture to say, that this family alone, in the course of many successions, was free from these evils. Of all the descendants of Antigonus, Philip was the only prince who put his son to death; whereas, in the families of other kings, nothing is more common than the murders of sons, mothers, and wives. As for the killing of brothers, like a *postulatum* in geometry, it was

confidered as indifputably neceffary to the fafety of the reigning prince.

That Demetrius was originally well difpofed by nature to the offices of humanity and friendfhip, the following is a proof. Mithridates, the fon of Ariobarzanes, was of the fame age, and his conftant companion. He was likewife one of the attendants of Antigonus, and bore an unblemifhed character. Yet Antigonus conceived fome fufpicion of him from a dream. He thought he entered a large and beautiful field, and fowed it with filings of gold. This produced a crop of the fame precious metal; but coming a little after to vifit it, he found it was cut, and nothing left but the ftalks. As he was in great diftrefs about his lofs, he heard fome people fay, that Mithridates had reaped the golden harveft, and was gone with it towards the Euxine fea.

Difturbed at the dream, he communicated it to his fon, having firft made him fwear to keep it fecret, and, at the fame time, informed him of his abfolute determination to deftroy Mithridates. Demetrius was exceedingly concerned at the affair; but though his friend waited on him as ufual, that they might purfue their diverfions together, he durft not fpeak to him on the fubject, becaufe of his oath. By degrees, however, he drew him afide from the reft of his companions; and when they were alone, he wrote on the ground, with the bottom of his fpear, "Fly, Mithridates." The young man underftanding his danger, fled that night into Cappadocia; and fate foon accomplifhed the dream of Antigonus. For Mithridates conquered a rich and extenfive country, and founded the family of the Pontic kings, which continued through eight fucceffions, and was at laft deftroyed by the Romans. This is a fufficient evidence that Demetrius was naturally well inclined to juftice and humanity.

But as, according to Empedocles, love and hatred are the fources of perpetual wars between the elements, particularly fuch as touch or approach each other; fo among the fucceffors of Alexander there were continual wars; and the contentions were always the moft violent when inflamed by the oppofition of intereft, or vicinity of place. This was the cafe of Antigonus and Ptolemy. Antigonus, while he refided in Phrygia, received information that Ptolemy was gone from Cyprus into Syria, where he was ravaging the country, and reducing the cities either by folicitation or force. Upon this, he fent his fon Demetrius againft him,

though

though he was only twenty-two years of age; and in this first command had the greatest and most difficult affairs to manage. But a young and unexperienced man was unequally matched with a general from the school of Alexander, who had distinguished himself in many important combats under that prince. Accordingly, he was defeated near Gaza; five thousand of his men were killed, and eight thousand taken prisoners. He lost also his tents, his military chest, and his whole equipage. But Ptolemy sent them back to him, together with his friends; adding this generous and obliging message, "That they ought only "to contend for glory and empire." When Demetrius received it, he begged of the gods, "That he might not "long be Ptolemy's debtor, but soon have it in his power "to return the favour." Nor was he disconcerted, as most young men would be, with such a miscarriage in his first essay. On the contrary, like a complete general, accustomed to the vicissitudes of fortune, he employed himself in making new levies and providing arms; he kept the cities to their duty, and exercised the troops he had raised.

As soon as Antigonus was apprised how the battle went, he said, "Ptolemy has, indeed, beaten boys, but he shall "soon have to do with men." However, as he did not choose to repress the spirit of his son, on his request, he gave him permission to try his fortune again by himself. Not long after this, Cilles, Ptolemy's general, undertook to drive Demetrius entirely out of Syria; for which purpose be brought with him a numerous army, though he held him in contempt, on account of his late defeat. But Demetrius, by a sudden attack, struck his adversaries with such a panic, that both the camp and the general fell into his hands, together with very considerable treasures. Yet he did not consider the gain, but the ability to give: nor so much valued the glory and riches which this advantage brought him, as its enabling him to requite the generosity of Ptolemy. He was not, however, for proceeding upon his own judgment; he consulted his father; and, on his free permission to act as he thought proper, loaded Cilles and his friends with his favours, and sent them back to their master. By this turn of affairs, Ptolemy lost his footing in Syria; and Antigonus marched down from Celænæ, rejoicing in his son's success, and impatient to embrace him.

Demetrius, after this, being ſent to ſubdue the Nabathæan Arabs, found himſelf in great danger, by falling into a deſert country, which afforded no water. But the barbarians, aſtoniſhed at his uncommon intrepidity, did not venture to attack him; and he retired with a conſiderable booty, amongſt which were ſeven hundred camels.

Antigonus had formerly taken Babylon from Seleucus; but he had recovered it by his own arms; and was now marching with his main army, to reduce the nations which bordered upon India, and the provinces about Mount Caucaſus. Meantime Demetrius, hoping to find Meſopotamia unguarded, ſuddenly paſſed the Euphrates, and fell upon Babylon. There were two ſtrong caſtles in that city; but by this manœuvre in the abſence of Seleucus, he ſeized one of them, diſlodged the garriſon, and placed there ſeven thouſand of his own men. After this, he ordered the reſt of his ſoldiers to plunder the country for their own uſe, and then returned to the ſea-coaſt. By theſe proceedings he left Seleucus better eſtabliſhed in his dominions than ever; for his laying waſte the country, ſeemed as if he had no farther claim to it.

In his return through Syria, he was informed that Ptolemy was beſieging Halicarnaſſus; upon which he haſtened to its relief, and obliged him to retire. As this ambition to ſuccour the diſtreſſed, gained Antigonus and Demetrius great reputation, they conceived a ſtrong deſire to reſcue all Greece from the ſlavery it was held in by Caſſander and Ptolemy. No prince ever engaged in a more juſt and honourable war. For they employed the wealth which they had gained by the conqueſt of the barbarians, for the advantage of the Greeks; ſolely with a view to the honour that ſuch an enterprize promiſed.

When they had reſolved to begin their operations with Athens, one of his friends adviſed Antigonus, if he took the city, to keep it, as the key of Greece; but that prince would not liſten to him. He ſaid, "The beſt and ſecureſt "of all keys was the friendſhip of the people; and that "Athens was the watch-tower of the world, from whence "the torch of his glory would blaze over the earth."

In conſequence of theſe reſolutions, Demetrius ſailed to Athens with five thouſand talents of ſilver, and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ſhips. Demetrius, the Phalerean, governed the city for Caſſander, and had a good garriſon in the fort of Munychia. His adverſary, who managed the affair,

affair, both with prudence and good fortune, made his appearance before the Piræus on the twenty-fifth of May *. The town had no information of his approach; and when they saw his fleet coming in, they concluded that it belonged to Ptolemy, and prepared to receive it as such. But at last the officers who commanded in the city, being undeceived, ran to oppose it. All the tumult and confusion followed, which was natural when an enemy came unexpected, and was already landing. For Demetrius finding the mouth of the harbour open, ran in with ease; and the people could plainly distinguish him on the deck of his ship, whence he made signs to them to compose themselves and keep silence. They complied with his demand; and a herald was ordered to proclaim, "That his "father Antigonus, in a happy hour, he hoped, for "Athens, had sent him to reinstate them in their liber"ties, by expelling the garrison, and to restore their laws "and ancient form of government."

Upon this proclamation, the people threw down their arms, and receiving the proposal with loud acclamations, desired Demetrius to land, and called him their benefactor and deliverer. Demetrius, the Phalerean, and his partizans, thought it necessary to receive a man who came with such a superior force, though he should perform none of his promises, and accordingly sent deputies to make their submission. Demetrius received them in an obliging manner, and sent back with them Aristodemus the Milesian, a friend of his father's. At the same time, he was not unmindful of Demetrius the Phalerean, who, in this revolution, was more afraid of the citizens than of the enemy; but out of regard to his character and virtue, sent him with a strong convoy to Thebes, agreeably to his request. He likewise assured the Athenians, that however desirous he might be to see their city, he would deny himself that pleasure till he had set it entirely free, by expelling the garrison. He therefore surrounded the fortress of Munychia with a ditch and rampart, to cut off its communication with the rest of the city, and then sailed to Megara, where Cassander had another garrison.

On his arrival, he was informed, that Cratesipolis, the wife of Alexander the son of Polyperchon, a celebrated beauty, was at Patræ, and had a desire to see him. In



* *Thargelion.*

consequence of which, he left his forces in the territory of Megara, and with a few light horse took the road to Patræ. When he was near the place, he drew off from his men, and pitched his tent apart, that Cratesipolis might not be perceived when she came to pay her visit. But a party of the enemy getting intelligence of this, fell suddenly upon him. In his alarm, he had only time to throw over him a mean cloak; and, in that disguise, saved himself by flight. So near an infamous captivity had his intemperate love of beauty brought him. As for his tent, the enemy took it, with all the riches it contained.

After Megara was taken, the soldiers prepared to plunder it; but the Athenians interceded strongly for that people, and prevailed. Demetrius was satisfied with expelling the garrison, and declared the city free. Amidst these transactions, he bethought himself of Stilpo, a philosopher of great reputation, who sought only the retirement and tranquillity of a studious life. He sent for him, and asked him, "Whether they had taken any thing "from him?" "No," said Stilpo, "I found none that "wanted to steal any knowledge." The soldiers, however, had clandestinely carried off almost all the slaves. Therefore, when Demetrius paid his respects to him again, on leaving the place, he said, "Stilpo, I leave you "entirely free:" "True," answered Stilpo, "for you "have not left a slave among us."

Demetrius then returned to the siege of Munychia; dislodged the garrison, and demolished the fortress. After which the Athenians pressed him to enter the city, and he complied. Having assembled the people, he re-established the commonwealth in its ancient form; and, moreover, promised them, in the name of his father, a hundred and fifty thousand measures * of wheat, and timber enough to build a hundred galleys. Thus they recovered the democracy fifteen years after it was dissolved. During the interval, after the Lamian war, and the battle of Cranon, the government was called an oligarchy, but, in fact, was monarchial; for the power of Demetrius, the Phalerean, met with no controul.

Their deliverer appeared glorious in his services to Athens; but they rendered him obnoxious by the extravagant honours they decreed him. For they were the first who

* *Medimni.*

who gave him and his father Antigonus the title of kings, which they had hitherto religiously avoided; and which was, indeed, the only thing left the descendants of Philip and Alexander, uninvaded by their generals. In the next place, they alone * honoured them with the appellation of the gods protectors; and, instead of denominating the year as formerly, from the *archon*, they abolished his office, created annually in his room a priest of those gods protectors, and prefixed his name to all their public acts. They likewise ordered that their portraits should be wrought in the holy veil with those of the other gods †. They consecrated the place where their patron first alighted from his chariot, and erected an altar there to DEMETRIUS *Catabates*. They added two to the number of their tribes, and called them *Demetrias* and *Antigonis*; in consequence of which the senate, which before consisted of five hundred members, was to consist of six hundred; for each tribe supplied fifty.

Stratocles, of whose inventions these wise compliments were, thought of a stroke still higher. He procured a decree, that those who should be sent upon public business from the commonwealth of Athens to Antigonus and Demetrius, should not be called ambassadors, but *Theori*, a title which had been appropriated to those who, on the solemn festivals, carried the customary sacrifices to Delphi and Olympia, in the name of the Grecian states. This Stratocles was, in all respects, a person of the most daring effrontery, and the most debauched life, insomuch, that he seemed to imitate the ancient Cleon in his scurrilous and licentious behaviour to the people. He kept a mistress called Phylacium; and one day, when she brought from the market some heads for supper, he said, " Why, how " now!



* No other people were found capable of such vile adulation. Their servility shewed how little they deserved the liberty that was restored them.

† Every fifth year the Athenians celebrated the *Panathenæa*, or festival of Minerva, and carried in procession the *Peplum*, or holy veil, in which the defeat of the Titans, and the actions of Minerva, were inwrought. In this veil, too, they placed the figures of those commanders, who had distinguished themselves by their victories; and from thence came the expression, that such a one was worthy of the *Peplum*; meaning, that he was a brave soldier. As to the form of the *Peplum*, it was a large robe without sleeves. It was drawn by land in a machine like a ship along the *Caramicus*, as far as the temple of *Ceres* at *Eleusius*; from whence it was brought back and consecrated in the citadel.

"now! you have provided us juſt ſuch things to eat, as "we ſtateſman uſe for tennis-balls."

When the Athenians were defeated in the ſea-fight near Amorgas, he arrived at Athens before any account of the misfortune had been received, and paſſing through the Ceramicus with a chaplet on his head, told the people that they were victorious. He then moved that ſacrifices of thankſgiving ſhould be offered, and meat diſtributed among the tribes for a public entertainment. Two days after, the poor remains of the fleet were brought home; and the people, in great anger, calling him to anſwer for the impoſition, he made his appearance in the height of the tumult, with the moſt conſummate aſſurance, and ſaid, "What harm have I done you, in making you merry for "two days?" Such was the impudence of Stratocles.

But there were other extravagances *hotter than fire itſelf*, as Ariſtophanes expreſſes it. One flatterer outdid even Stratocles in ſervility, by procuring a decree that Demetrius, whenever he viſited Athens, ſhould be received with the ſame honours that were paid to Ceres and Bacchus; and that whoever exceeded the reſt in the ſplendor and magnificence of the reception he gave that prince, ſhould have money out of the treaſury to enable him to ſet up ſome pious memorial of his ſucceſs. Theſe inſtances of adulation concluded with their changing the name of the month *Munychion* to *Demetrion*, with calling the laſt day of every month *Demetrias*; and the *Dionyſia*, or feaſts of Bacchus, *Demetria*.

The gods ſoon ſhewed how much they were offended at theſe things. For the veil in which were wrought the figures of Demetrius and Antigonus, along with thoſe of Jupiter and Minerva, as they carried it through the *Ceramicus*, was rent aſunder by a ſudden ſtorm of wind. Hemlock grew up in great quantities round the altars of thoſe princes, though it is a plant ſeldom found in that country. On the day when the *Dionyſia* were to be celebrated, they were forced to put a ſtop to the proceſſion by the exceſſive cold, which came entirely out of ſeaſon; and there fell ſo ſtrong a hoar-froſt, that it blaſted not only the vines and fig-trees, but great part of the corn in the blade. Hence, Philippides, who was an enemy to Stratocles, thus attacked him in one of his comedies.—"Who was the wicked cauſe "of our vines being blaſted by the froſt, and of the ſacred "veil's being rent aſunder? He who transferred the "honours

"honours of the gods to men: 'Tis he, not comedy *, "that is the ruin of the people." This Philippides enjoyed the friendſhip of Lyſimachus, and the Athenians received many favours from that prince on his account. Nay, whenever Lyſimachus was waited on by this poet, or happened to meet him, he conſidered it as a good omen, and a happy time to enter upon any great buſineſs or important expedition. Beſides, he was a man of excellent character, never importunate, intriguing, or over-officious, like thoſe who are bred in a court. One day Lyſimachus talked to him in the moſt obliging manner, and ſaid, "What is there of mine that you would ſhare in?" "Any "thing," ſaid he, "but your ſecrets." I have purpoſely contraſted theſe characters, that the difference may be obvious between the comic writer and the demagogue.

What exceeded all the rage of flattery we have mentioned, was the decree propoſed by Dromoclides the Sphettian; according to which, they were to conſult the oracle of Demetrius, as to the manner in which they were to dedicate certain ſhields at Delphi. It was conceived in theſe terms: "In a fortunate hour, be it decreed by the people, "that a citizen of Athens be appointed to go to the god "protector, and, after due ſacrifices offered, demand of "Demetrius, the god protector, what will be the moſt "pious, the moſt honourable and expeditious method of "conſecrating the intended offerings. And it is hereby "enacted, that the people of Athens will follow the me-"thod dictated by his oracle." By this mockery of incenſe to his vanity, who was ſcarcely in his ſenſes before, they rendered him perfectly inſane.

During his ſtay at Athens, he married Eurydice, a deſcendant of the antient Miltiades, who was the widow of Opheltas king of Cyrene, and had returned to Athens after his death. The Athenians reckoned this a particular favour and honour to their city; though Demetrius made no ſort of difficulty of marrying, and had many wives at the ſame time. Of all his wives, he paid moſt reſpect to Phila, becauſe ſhe was the daughter of Antipater, and had been married to Craterus, who, of all the ſucceſſors of Alexander, was moſt regretted by the Macedonians. Demetrius



* It is probable that Stratocles, and other perſons of his character, inveighed againſt the dramatic writers, on account of the liberties they took with their vices. Though this was after the time that the *middle comedy* prevailed at Athens.

metrius was very young, when his father perſuaded him to marry her, though ſhe was advanced in life, and on that account unfit for him. As he was diſinclined to the match, Antigonus is ſaid to have repeated to him that verſe of Euripides, with a happy parody:

> When Fortune ſpreads her ſtores, we yield to marriage
> Againſt the bent of nature.

Only putting *marriage* inſtead of *bondage*. However, the reſpect which Demetrius paid Phila and his other wives, was not of ſuch a nature, but that he publicly entertained many miſtreſſes, as well ſlaves as free-born women, and was more infamous for his exceſſes of that ſort, than any other prince of his time.

Meantime his father called him to take the conduct of the war againſt Ptolemy; and he found it neceſſary to obey him. But as it gave him pain to leave the war he had undertaken for the liberties of Greece, which was ſo much more advantageous in point of glory, he ſent to Cleonides, who commanded for Ptolemy in Sicyon and Corinth, and offered him a pecuniary conſideration, on condition, that he would ſet thoſe cities free. Cleonides, not accepting the propoſal, Demetrius immediately embarked his troops, and ſailed to Cyprus. There he had an engagement with Menelaus, brother to Ptolemy, and defeated him. Ptolemy himſelf ſoon after made his appearance with a great number of land-forces, and a conſiderable fleet. On which occaſion, ſeveral menacing and haughty meſſages paſſed between them. Ptolemy bade Demetrius depart, before he collected all his forces, and trod him under foot; and Demetrius ſaid, he would let Ptolemy go, if he would promiſe to evacuate Sicyon and Corinth.

The approaching battle awaked the attention not only of the parties concerned, but of all other princes; for, beſide the uncertainty of the event, ſo much depended upon it, that the conqueror would not be maſter of Cyprus and Syria alone, but ſuperior to all his rivals in power. Ptolemy advanced with a hundred and fifty ſhips, and he had ordered Menelaus, with ſixty more, to come out of the harbour of Salamis, in the heat of the battle, and put the enemy in diſorder, by falling on his rear. Againſt theſe ſixty ſhips, Demetrius appointed a guard of ten, for that number was ſufficient to block up the mouth of the harbour. His land-forces he ranged on the adjoining promontories, and

and then bore down upon his adverſary with a hundred and eighty ſhips. This he did with ſo much impetuoſity, that Ptolemy could not ſtand the ſhock, but was defeated, and fled with eight ſhips only, which were all that he ſaved. For ſeventy were taken, with their crews, and the reſt were ſunk in the engagement. His numerous train, his ſervants, friends, wives, arms, money, and machines, that were ſtationed near the fleet in tranſports, all fell into the hands of Demetrius, and he carried them to his camp.

Among theſe was the celebrated Lamia, who at firſt was only taken notice of for her performing on the flute, which was by no means contemptible, but afterwards became famous as a courtezan. By this time her beauty was in the wane, yet ſhe captivated Demetrius, though not near her age, and ſo effectually enſlaved him by the peculiar power of her addreſs, that, though other women had a paſſion for him, he could only think of her.

After the ſea-fight, Menelaus made no further reſiſtance, but ſurrendered Salamais with all the ſhips, and the land-forces which conſiſted of twelve hundred horſe, and twelve thouſand foot.

This victory, ſo great in itſelf, Demetrius rendered ſtill more glorious, by generoſity and humanity, in giving the enemy's dead an honourable interment, and ſetting the priſoners free. He ſelected twelve hundred complete ſuits of armour from the ſpoils, and beſtowed them on the Athenians. Ariſtodemus, the Mileſian, was the perſon he ſent to his father, with an account of the victory. Of all the courtiers, this man was the boldeſt flatterer; and, on the preſent occaſion, he deſigned to outdo himſelf. When he arrived on the coaſt of Syria from Cyprus, he would not ſuffer the ſhip to make land; but ordering it to anchor at a diſtance, and all the company to remain in it, he took the boat, and went on ſhore alone. He advanced towards the palace of Antigonus, who was watching for the event of this battle, with all the ſolicitude that is natural to a man who has ſo great a concern at ſtake. As ſoon as he was informed that the meſſenger was coming, his anxiety increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he could ſcarce keep within his palace. He ſent his officers and friends, one after another, to Ariſtodemus, to demand what intelligence he brought. But, inſtead of giving any of them an anſwer, he walked on with great ſilence and ſolemnity. The king by this time much alarmed, and having no longer patience,

went to the door to meet him. A great crowd was gathered about Ariſtodemus, and people were running from all quarters to the palace to hear the news. When he was near enough to be heard, he ſtretched out his hand, and cried aloud, "Hail to king Antigonus! We have totally "beaten Ptolemy at ſea; we are maſters of Cyprus, and "have made ſixteen thouſand eight hundred priſoners." Antigonus anſwered, "Hail to you too, my good friend! "but I will puniſh you for torturing us ſo long; you ſhall "wait long for your reward."

The people now, for the firſt time, proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius kings Antigonus had the diadem immediately put on by his friends. He ſent one to Demetrius; and in the letter that accompanied it, addreſſed him under the ſtyle of king. The Ægyptians, when they were appriſed of this circumſtance, gave Ptolemy likewiſe the title of king, that they might not appear to be diſpirited with their late defeat. The other ſucceſſors of Alexander caught eagerly at the opportunity to aggrandize themſelves. Lyſimachus took the diadem; and Seleucus did the ſame in his tranſactions with the Greeks. The latter had worn it ſome time, when he gave audience to the barbarians. Caſſander alone, while others wrote to him, and ſaluted him as king, prefixed his name to his letters in the ſame manner as formerly.

This title proved not a mere addition to their name and figure. It gave them higher notions. It introduced a pompouſneſs into their manners, and ſelf-importance into their diſcourſe. Juſt as tragedians, when they take the habit of kings, change their gait, their voice, their whole deportment, and manner of addreſs. After this they became more ſevere in their judicial capacity; for they laid aſide that diſſimulation with which they had concealed their power, and which had made them much milder and more favourable to their ſubjects. So much could one word of a flatterer do!. Such a change did it effect in the whole face of the world.

Antigonus, elated with his ſon's achievements at Cyprus, immediately marched againſt Ptolemy; commanding his land-forces in perſon, while Demetrius, with a powerful fleet, attended him along the coaſt. One of Antigonus's friends, named Medius, had the event of this expedition communicated to him in a dream. He thought that Antigonus and his whole army were running a race. At firſt he

he ſeemed to run with great ſwiftneſs and force; but afterwards his ſtrength gradually abated; and, on turning, he became very weak, and drew his breath with ſuch pain, that he could ſcarce recover himſelf. Accordingly, Antigonus met with many difficulties at land, and Demetrius encountered ſuch a ſtorm at ſea, that he was in danger of being driven upon an impracticable ſhore. In this ſtorm he loſt many of his ſhips, and returned without effecting any thing.

Antigonus was now little ſhort of eighty; and his great ſize and weight diſqualified him for war, ſtill more than his age. He therefore left the military department to his ſon, who by his good fortune, as well as ability, managed it in the happieſt manner. Nor was Antigonus hurt by his ſon's debaucheries, his expenſive appearance, or his long carouſals. For theſe were the things in which Demetrius employed himſelf in time of peace with the utmoſt licentiouſneſs and moſt unbounded avidity. But in war, no man, however naturally temperate, exceeded him in ſobriety.

When the power that Lamia had over him was evident to all the world, Demetrius came after ſome expedition or other to ſalute his father, and kiſſed him ſo cordially, that he laughed and ſaid, "Surely, my ſon, you think "you are kiſſing Lamia." Once when he had been ſpending many days with his friends over the bottle, he excuſed himſelf at his return to court, by ſaying, "That "he had been hindered by a defluxion." "So I heard," "ſaid Antigonus, "but whether was the defluxion from "Thaſos or from Chios?" Another time, being informed that he was indiſpoſed, he went to ſee him; and when he came to the door, he met one of his favourites going out. He went in, however, and ſitting down by him, took hold of his hand. Demetrius ſaid his fever had now left him. "I know it," ſaid Antigonus, "for I met it this moment "at the door." With ſuch mildneſs he treated his ſon's faults, out of regard to his excellent performances. It is the cuſtom of the Scythians in the midſt of their carouſals to ſtrike the ſtrings of their bows, to recal, as it were, their courage which is melting away in pleaſure. But Demetrius one while gave himſelf up entirely to pleaſure, and another while to buſineſs; he did not intermix them. His military talents, therefore, did not ſuffer by his attentions of a gayer kind.

Nay

Nay, he ſeemed to ſhew greater abilities in his preparations for war, than in the uſe of them. He was not content unleſs he had ſtores that were more than ſufficient. There was ſomething peculiarly great in the conſtruction of his ſhips and engines, and he took an unwearied pleaſure in the inventing of new ones. For he was ingenious in the ſpeculative part of mechanics; and he did not, like other princes, apply his taſte and knowledge of thoſe arts to the purpoſes of diverſion, or to purſuits of no utility, ſuch as playing on the flute, painting, or turning.

Æropus, king of Macedon, ſpent his hours of leiſure in making little tables and lamps. Attalus *, ſurnamed Philometer †, amuſed himſelf with planting poiſonous herbs, not only henbane and hellebore, but hemlock, aconite, and dorycnium ‡. Theſe he cultivated in the royal gardens, and beſide gathering them at their proper ſeaſons, made it his buſineſs to know the qualities of their juices and fruit. And the kings of Parthia took a pride in forging and ſharpening heads for arrows. But the mechanics of Demetrius were of a princely kind; there was always ſomething great in the fabric. Together with a ſpirit of curioſity and love of the arts there appeared in all his works a grandeur of deſign, and dignity of invention, ſo that they were not only worthy of the genius and wealth, but of the hand of a king. His friends were aſtoniſhed at their greatneſs, and his very enemies were pleaſed with their beauty. Nor is this deſcription of him at all exaggerated. His enemies uſed to ſtand upon the ſhore looking with admiration upon his galleys of fifteen or ſixteen banks of oars, as they ſailed along; and his engines called *helepoles*, were a pleaſing ſpectacle to the very towns which he beſieged. This is evident from facts. Lyſimachus, who of all the princes of his time was the bittereſt enemy to Demetrius, when he came to compel him to raiſe the ſiege of Soli in Cilicia, deſired he would ſhew him his engines of war, and his manner of navigating the galleys; and he was

* Plutarch does not do that honour to Attalus which he deſerves, when he mentions his employments as unworthy of a prince. He made many experiments in natural philoſophy, and wrote a treatiſe on agriculture. Other kings, particularly Hiero and Archelaus, did the ſame.

† This is a miſtake in Plutarch. Philometer was another prince, who made agriculture his amuſement.

‡ *Dorycnium* was a common poiſonous plant, which was ſo called from the points of ſpears being tinged with its juices.

was ſo ſtruck with the ſight that he immediately retired. And the Rhodians, after they had ſtood a long ſiege, and at laſt compromiſed the affair, requeſted him to leave ſome of his engines, as monuments both of his power, and of their valour.

His war with the Rhodians was occaſioned by their alliance with Ptolemy; and in the courſe of it he brought the largeſt of his *helepoles* up to their walls. Its baſe was ſquare; each of its ſides at the bottom forty-eight cubits wide; and it was ſixty-ſix cubits high. The ſides of the ſeveral diviſions gradually leſſened, ſo that the top was much narrower than the bottom. The inſide was divided into ſeveral ſtories or rooms, one above another. The front which was turned towards the enemy, had a window in each ſtory, through which miſſive weapons of various kinds were thrown: for it was filled with men who practiſed every method of fighting. It neither ſhook nor veered the leaſt in its motion, but rolled on in a ſteady upright poſition. And as it moved with a horrible noiſe, it at once pleaſed and terrified the ſpectators *.

He had two coats of mail brought from Cyprus †, for his uſe in this war, each of which weighed forty *minæ*. Zoilus the maker, to ſhew the excellence of their temper, ordered a dart to be ſhot at one of them from an engine at the diſtance of twenty-ſix paces; and it ſtood ſo firm, that there was no more mark upon it than what might be made with ſuch a ſtyle as is uſed in writing. This he took for himſelf, and gave the other to Alcimus the Epirot, a man of the greateſt bravery and ſtrength of any in his army. The Epirot's whole ſuit of armour weighed two talents, whereas that of others weighed no more than one. He fell in the ſiege of Rhodes in an action near the theatre.

As the Rhodians defended themſelves with great ſpirit, Demetrius was not able to do any thing conſiderable. There was one thing in their conduct which he particularly reſented, and for that reaſon he perſiſted in the ſiege. They had taken the veſſel in which were letters from his wife Phila, together with ſome robes and pieces of tapeſtry, and

* Diodorus Siculus ſays, this machine had nine ſtories; and that it rolled on four large wheels, each of which was ſixteen feet high.

† Pliny ſays that the Cyprian Adamant was impregnable. Cyprus was famous for the metal of which armour was made even in the time of the Trojan war: and Agamemnon had a cuiraſs ſent him from Cyniras King of Cyprus. Hom. Il. xi.

and they ſent it, as it was, to Ptolemy. In which they were far from imitating the politeneſs of the Athenians, who, when they were at war with Philip, happening to take his couriers, read all the other letters, but ſent him that of Olympias with the ſeal entire.

But Demetrius, though much incenſed, did not retaliate upon the Rhodians, though he ſoon had an opportunity. Protogenes of Caunus was at that time painting for them the hiſtory of Jalyſus *, and had almoſt finiſhed it when Demetrius ſeized it in one of the ſuburbs. The Rhodians ſent a herald to intreat him to ſpare the work, and not ſuffer it to be deſtroyed. Upon which he ſaid, "He would "rather burn the pictures of his father, than hurt ſo la- "borious a piece of art." For Protogenes is ſaid to have been ſeven years in finiſhing it. Apelles tells us, that when he firſt ſaw it, he was ſo much aſtoniſhed that he could not ſpeak; and at laſt, when he recovered himſelf, he ſaid, "A maſterpiece of labour! A wonderful perform- "ance! But it wants thoſe graces which raiſe the fame of "my paintings to the ſkies." This piece was afterwards carried to Rome, and being added to the number of thoſe collected there, was deſtroyed by fire. The Rhodians now began to grow weary of the war. Demetrius too wanted only a pretence to put an end to it, and he found one. The Athenians came and reconciled them on this condition, that the Rhodians ſhould aſſiſt Antigonus and Demetrius, as allies, in all their wars except thoſe with Ptolemy.

At

* We have not met with the particular ſubject of this famous painting. Jalyſus was one of the fabulous heroes, the ſon of Ochimus and grandſon of Apollo; and there is a town in Rhodes called Jalyſus, which probably had its name from him. It was in this picture that Protogenes, when he had long laboured in vain to paint the foam of a dog, happily hit it off, by throwing the bruſh in anger at the dog's mouth. Ælian, as well as Plutarch, ſays that he was ſeven years in finiſhing it. Pliny tells us, that he gave it four coats of colours, that when one was effaced by time, another might ſupply its place. He tells us too, that while Protogenes was at work, he was viſited by Demetrius, and when the latter aſked him how he could proſecute his work with ſo much calmneſs under the rage of war, he anſwered, that "Though Demetrius was at war with Rhodes, he did not ſuppoſe "he was at war with the arts." He is ſaid to have lived on Lupines during the time he was employed on this painting, that his judgment might not be clouded by luxurious diet. The picture was brought to Rome by Caſſius, and placed in the Temple of Peace, where it remained till the time of Commodus; when, together with the temple, it was conſumed by fire.

At the ſame time the Athenians called him to their ſuccour againſt Caſſander, who was beſieging their city. In conſequence of which he ſailed thither with a fleet of three hundred and thirty ſhips, and a numerous body of land forces. With theſe he not only drove Caſſander out of Attica, but followed him to Thermopylæ, and entirely defeated him there. Heraclea then voluntarily ſubmitted, and he received into his army ſix thouſand Macedonians, who came over to him. In his return he reſtored liberty to the Greeks within the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, took the Bœotians into his alliance, and made himſelf maſter of Cenchreæ. He likewiſe reduced Phyle and Panactus, the bulwarks of Attica, which had been garriſoned by Caſſander, and put them in the hands of the Athenians again. The Athenians, though they had laviſhed honours upon him before in the moſt extravagant manner, yet contrived on this occaſion to appear new in their flattery. They gave orders that he ſhould lodge in the back part of the *Parthenon*; which accordingly he did, and Minerva was ſaid to have received him as her gueſt: A gueſt not very fit to come under her roof, or ſuitable to her virgin purity.

In one of their expeditions, his brother Philip took up his quarters in a houſe where there were three young women. His father Antigonus ſaid nothing to Philip; but called the quarter-maſter, and ſaid to him in his preſence, "Why do "not you remove my ſon out of this lodging, where he is "ſo much ſtraitened for room?" And Demetrius, who ought to have reverenced Minerva, if on no other account, yet as his eldeſt ſiſter (for ſo he affected to call her) behaved in ſuch a manner to perſons of both ſexes who were above the condition of ſlaves, and the citadel was ſo polluted with his debaucheries, that it appeared to be kept ſacred in ſome degree, when he indulged himſelf only with ſuch proſtitutes as Chryſis, Lamia, Demo, and Anticyra.

Some things we chooſe to paſs over out of regard to the character of the city of Athens; but the virtue and chaſtity of Democles ought not to be left under the veil of ſilence. Democles was very young; and his beauty was no ſecret to Demetrius. Indeed, his ſurname unhappily declared it, for he was called Democles *the Handſome*. Demetrius, through his emiſſaries, left nothing unattempted to gain him by great offers, or to intimidate him by threats; but neither could prevail. He left the wreſtling-ring and all public exerciſes, and made uſe only of a private bath.

Demetrius

Demetrius watched his opportunity, and ſurpriſed him there alone. The boy ſeeing nobody near to aſſiſt him, and the impoſſibility of reſiſting with any effect, took off the cover of the cauldron, and jumped into the boiling water. It is true, he came to an unworthy end, but his ſentiments were worthy of his country and of his perſonal merit.

Very different were thoſe of Cleænetus the ſon of Cleomedon. That youth having procured his father the remiſſion of a fine of fifty talents, brought letters from Demetrius to the people, ſignifying his pleaſure in that reſpect. By which he not only diſhonoured himſelf, but brought great trouble upon the city. The people took off the fine, but at the ſame time they made a decree, that no citizen ſhould for the future bring any letter from Demetrius. Yet when they found that Demetrius was diſobliged at it, and expreſſed his reſentment in ſtrong terms, they not only repealed the act, but puniſhed the perſons who propoſed and ſupported it, ſome with death, and ſome with baniſhment. They likewiſe paſſed a new edict, importing, "That "the people of Athens had reſolved that whatſoever thing "Demetrius might command, ſhould be accounted holy "in reſpect of the gods, and juſt in reſpect of men." Some perſon of better principle on this occaſion happening to ſay, that Stratocles was mad in propoſing ſuch decrees, Demochares the Leuconian anſwered *, "He would be "mad, if he were not mad." Stratocles found his advantage in his ſervility; and for this ſaying Demochares was proſecuted and baniſhed the city. To ſuch meanneſſes were the Athenians brought, when the garriſon ſeemed to be removed out of their city, and they pretended to be a free people!

Demetrius afterwards paſſed into Peloponneſus, where he found no reſiſtance, for all his enemies fled before him, or ſurrendered their cities. He therefore reduced with eaſe that part of the country called *Acte*, and all Arcadia, except Mantinea. Argos, Sicyon, and Corinth, he ſet free from their garriſons, by giving the commanding officers a hundred talents to evacuate them. About that time the feaſts of Juno came on at Argos, and Demetrius preſided in the games

* The nephew of Demoſthenes. The Greek text that calls him λακωνευς is erroneus. It ſhould be λευκονευς.

games and other exhibitions. During these solemnities he married Deidamia the daughter of Æcides king of the Molossians, and sister of Pyrrhus. He told the Sicyonians that they lived out of their city, and shewing them a more advantageous situation, persuaded them to build one where the town now stands. Along with the situation he likewise changed the name, calling the town Demetrias, instead of Sicyon.

The states being assembled at the Isthmus, and a prodigious number of people attending, he was proclaimed general of all Greece, as Philip and Alexander had been before; and in the elation of power and success, he thought himself a much greater man. Alexander robbed no other prince of his title, nor did he ever declare himself king of kings, though he raised many both to the style and authority of kings. But Demetrius thought no man worthy of that title except his father and himself. He even ridiculed those who made use of it, and it was with pleasure he heard the sycophants at his table drinking king Demetrius, Seleucus commander of the elephants, Ptolemy admiral, Lysimachus treasurer, and Agathocles the Sicilian governor of the islands. The rest of them only laughed at such extravagant instances of vanity. Lysimachus alone was angry, because Demetrius seemed to think him no better than an eunuch. For the princes of the east had generally eunuchs for their treasurers. Lysimachus, indeed, was the most violent enemy that he had; and now taking an opportunity to disparage him on account of his passion for Lamia, he said, "This was the first time he had seen a whore act in a "tragedy*." Demetrius said in answer, "My whore is "an honester woman than his Penelope."

When he was preparing to return to Athens, he wrote to the republic, that on his arrival he intended to be initiated, and to be immediately admitted not only to the less mysteries, but even to those called intuitive. This was unlawful and unprecedented; for the less mysteries were celebrated in February†, and the greater in September‡; and none were admitted to the intuitive till a year at least after

* The modern stage needs not be put to the blush by this assertion in favour of the ancient; the reason of it was, that there were no women actors. Men in female dresses performed their parts.

† *Anthesterion.*

‡ *Boëdromion.*

after they had attended the greater myfteries*. When the letters were read, Pythodorus the torch-bearer, was the only perfon who ventured to oppofe the demand; and his oppofition was entirely ineffectual. Stratocles procured a decree that the month of *Munychion* fhould be called and reputed the month of *Anthefterion*, to give Demetrius an opportunity for his firft initiation, which was to be performed in the ward of Agra. After which, Munychion was changed again into Boëdromion. By thefe means Demetrius was admitted to the greater myfteries and to immediate infpection. Hence thofe ftrokes of fatire upon Stratocles from the poet Philippides—" The man who can contract the " whole year into one month:" and with refpect to Demetrius's being lodged in the *Parthenon*—" The man who " turns the temples into inns, and brings proftitutes into " the company of the virgin goddefs."

But amongft the many abufes and enormities committed in their city, no one feems to have given the Athenians greater uneafinefs than this. He ordered them to raife two hundred and fifty talents in a very fhort time, and the fum was exacted with the greateft rigour. When the money was brought in, and he faw it all together, he ordered it to be given to Lamia and his other miftreffes to buy foap. Thus the difgrace hurt them more than the lofs, and the application more than the impoft. Some, however, fay, that it was not to the Athenians he behaved in this manner, but to the people of Theffaly. Befides this difagreeable tax, Lamia extorted money from many perfons on her own authority, to enable her to provide an entertainment for the king. And the expence of that fupper was fo remarkable, that Lynceus the Samian took pains to give a defcription of it. For the fame reafon, a comic poet of thofe times, with equal wit and truth, called Lamia an *Helepolis*. And Demochares the Solian, called Demetrius *Muthos*, that is, *fable*, becaufe he too had his *Lamia* †.

The

* Plutarch in this place feems to make a difference between the intuitive and the greater myfteries, though they are commonly underftood to be the fame. Cafaubon and Meurfius think the text corrupt; but the manner in which they would reftore it, does not render it lefs perplexed.

† Fabulous hiftory mentions a queen of Lybia, who out of rage for the lofs of her own children, ordered thofe of other women to be brought to her and devoured them. From whence fhe was called *Lamia* from the

The great intereſt that Lamia had with Demetrius in conſequence of his paſſion for her, excited a ſpirit of envy and averſion to her, not only in the breaſts of his wives, but of his friends. Demetrius having ſent ambaſſadors to Lyſimachus on ſome occaſion or other, that prince amuſed himſelf one day with ſhewing them the deep wounds he had received from a lion's claws in his arms and thighs, and gave them an account of his being ſhut up with that wild beaſt by Alexander the Great, and of the battle he had with it *. Upon which they laughed, and ſaid, "The king "our maſter, too, bears on his neck the marks of a "dreadful wild beaſt called a Lamia." Indeed, it was ſtrange that he ſhould at firſt have ſo great an objection againſt the diſparity of years between him and Phila, and afterwards fall into ſuch a laſting captivity to Lamia, though ſhe had paſſed her prime at their firſt acquaintance. One evening when Lamia had been playing on the flute at ſupper, Demetrius aſked Demo, ſurnamed *Mania* †, what ſhe thought of her. "I think her an old woman, Sir," ſaid Demo. Another time, when there was an extraordinary deſert on the table, he ſaid to her, "You ſee "what fine things Lamia ſends me:" "My mother will "ſend you finer," anſwered Demo, "if you will but lie "with her."

We ſhall mention only one ſtory more of Lamia, which relates to her cenſure of the celebrated judgment of Bocchoris. In Egypt there was a young man extremely deſirous of the favours of a courtezan named Thonis, but ſhe ſet too high a price upon them. Afterwards he fancied that he enjoyed her in a dream, and his deſire was ſatisfied. Thonis, upon this, commenced an action againſt him for the money; and Bocchoris having heard both parties, ordered the man to tell the gold that ſhe demanded into a baſon, and ſhake it about before her, that ſhe might enjoy the ſight of it. "For fancy," ſaid he, "is no more than the "ſhadow of truth." Lamia did not think this a juſt ſentence; "becauſe the woman's deſire of the gold was "not

the Phœnician word *lahama*, to devour. Upon this account, *Diodorus* tells us, that this *Lamia* became a bugbear to children. And this ſatisfies M. Dacier with regard to the explanation of this paſſage in Plutarch.

* Juſtin and Pauſanias mention this; but Q. Curtius doubts the truth of it; and he probably is in the right.

† In Engliſh, Miſs Madcap.

"not removed by the appearance of it; whereas the dream "cured the paſſion of her lover."

The change in the fortunes and actions of the ſubject of our narrative now turns the comic ſcene into tragedy: all the other kings having united their forces againſt Antigonus, Demetrius left Greece in order to join him; and was greatly animated to find his father preparing for war with a ſpirit above his years. Had Antigonus abated a little of his pretenſions, and reſtrained his ambition to govern the world, he might have kept the pre-eminence among the ſucceſſors of Alexander, not only for himſelf, but for his ſon after him. But being naturally arrogant, imperious, and no leſs inſolent in his expreſſions than in his actions, he exaſperated many young and powerful princes againſt him. He boaſted, that "he could break the preſent league, and diſperſe "the united armies with as much eaſe as a boy does a "flock of birds, by throwing a ſtone, or making a ſlight "noiſe."

He had an army of more than ſeventy thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and ſeventy-five elphants. The enemy's infantry conſiſted of ſixty-four thouſand men, their cavalry of ten thouſand five hundred; they had four hundred elephants, and a hundred and twenty armed chariots. When the two armies were in ſight, there was a viſible change in the mind of Antigonus, but rather with reſpect to his hopes than his reſolution. In other engagements his ſpirits uſed to be high, his port lofty, his voice loud, and his expreſſions vaunting; inſomuch, that he would ſometimes in the heat of the action let fall ſome jocular expreſſion, to ſhew his unconcern and his contempt of his adverſary. But at this time he was obſerved for the moſt part to be thoughtful and ſilent; and one day he preſented his ſon to the army, and recommended him as his ſucceſſor. What appeared ſtill more extraordinary, was, that he took him aſide into his tent, and diſcourſed with him there: for he never uſed to communicate his intentions to him in private, or to conſult him in the leaſt, but to rely entirely on his own judgment, and to give orders for the execution of what he had reſolved on by himſelf. It is reported that Demetrius, when very young, once aſked him when they ſhould decamp, and that he anſwered angrily, "Are you afraid "that you only ſhall not hear the trumpet."

On this occaſion, it is true, their ſpirits were depreſſed by ill omens. Demetrius dreamed that Alexnder came

to

to him in a magnificent ſuit of armour, and aſked him what was to be the word in the enſuing battle. Demetrius anſwered, *Jupiter* and *victory*; upon which Alexander ſaid, "I go then to your adverſaries, for they are ready to receive me." When the army was put in order of battle, Antigonus ſtumbled as he went out of his tent, and falling on his face, received a conſiderable hurt. After he had recovered himſelf, he ſtretched out his hands towards heaven, and prayed either for victory, or that he might die before he was ſenſible that the day was loſt.

When the battle was begun, Demetrius, at the head of his beſt cavalry, fell upon Antiochus the ſon of Seleucus, and fought with ſo much bravery that he put the enemy to flight; but by a vain and unſeaſonable ambition to go upon the purſuit, he loſt the victory. For he went ſo far that he could not get back to join his infantry, the enemy's elephants having taken up the intermediate ſpace. Seleucus now ſeeing his adverſary's foot deprived of their horſe, did not attack them, but rode about them as if he was going every moment to charge; intending by this manœuvre both to terrify them, and to give them opportunity to change ſides. The event anſwered his expectation. Great part ſeparated from the main body, and voluntarily came over to him; the reſt were put to the rout. When great numbers were bearing down upon Antigonus, one of thoſe that were about him, ſaid, "They are coming againſt you, "ſir." He anſwered, "What other object can they have? "But Demetrius will come to my aſſiſtance." In this hope he continued to the laſt, ſtill looking about for his ſon, till he fell under a ſhower of darts. His ſervants and his very friends forſook him; only Thorax of Lariſſa remained by the dead body.

The battle being thus decided, the kings who were victorious, diſmembered the kingdom of Antigonus and Demetrius, like ſome great body, and each took a limb; thus adding to their own dominions the provinces which thoſe two princes were poſſeſſed of before. Demetrius fled with five thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. And as he reached Epheſus in a ſhort time, and was in want of money, it was expected that he would not ſpare the temple. However, he not only ſpared it himſelf*, but fearing that his ſoldiers might be tempted to violate it, he immediately left

* A ſtriking proof that adverſity is the parent of virtue!

left the place, and embarked for Greece. His principal dependence was upon the Athenians; for, with them he had left his ſhips, his money, and his wiſe Deidamia; and in this diſtreſs he thought he could have no ſafer aſylum than their affection. He therefore purſued his voyage with all poſſible expedition; but ambaſſadors from Athens met him near the Cyclades; and intreated him not to think of going thither, becauſe the people had declared by an edict that they would receive no king into their city. As for Deidamia, they had conducted her to Megara with a proper retinue, and all the reſpect due to her rank. This ſo enraged Demetrius, that he was no longer maſter of himſelf; though he had hitherto borne his misfortune with ſufficient calmneſs, and diſcovered no mean or ungenerous ſentiment in the great change of his affairs. But to be deceived, beyond all his expectation, by the Athenians; to find by facts that their affection, ſo great in appearance, was only falſe and counterfeit, was a thing that cut him to the heart. Indeed, exceſſive honours are a very indifferent proof of the regard of the people for kings and princes. For all the value of thoſe honours reſts in their being freely given; and there can be no certainty of that, becauſe the givers may be under the influence of fear. And fear and love often produce the ſame public declarations. For the ſame reaſon wiſe princes will not look upon ſtatues, pictures, or divine honours, but rather conſider their own actions and behaviour, and, in conſequence thereof, either believe thoſe honours real, or diſregard them as the dictates of neceſſity. Nothing more frequently happens, than that the people hate their ſovereign the moſt, at the time that he is receiving the moſt immoderate honours, the tribute of unwilling minds.

Demetrius, though he ſeverely felt this ill-treatment, was not in a condition to revenge it; he therefore, by his envoys, expoſtulated with the Athenians in moderate terms, and only deſired them to ſend him his gallies, among which there was one of thirteen banks of oars. As ſoon as he had received them, he ſteered for the Iſthmus, but found his affairs there in a very bad ſituation. The cities expelled his garriſons, and were all revolting to his enemies. Leaving Pyrrhus in Greece, he then ſailed to the Cherſoneſus, and by the ravages he committed in the country, diſtreſſed Lyſimachus, as well as enriched and ſecured the fidelity of his own forces, which now began to gather ſtrength, and

improve

improve into a respectable army. The other kings paid no regard to Lysimachus, who, at the same time that he was much more formidable in his power than Demetrius, was not in the least more moderate in his conduct.

Soon after this, Seleucus sent proposals of marriage to Stratonice, the daughter of Demetrius by Phila. He had, indeed, already, a son named Antiochus, by Apama, a Persian lady; but he thought that his dominions were sufficient for more heirs, and that he stood in need of this new alliance, because he saw Lysimachus marrying one of Ptolemy's daughters himself, and taking the other for his son Agathocles. A connection with Seleucus was a happy and unexpected turn of fortune for Demetrius.

He took his daughter, and sailed with his whole fleet to Syria. In the course of the voyage he was several times under a necessity of making land, and he touched in particular upon the coast of Cilicia, which had been given to Plistarchus, the brother of Cassander, as his share, after the defeat of Antigonus. Plistarchus thinking himself injured by the descent which Demetrius made upon his country, went immediately to Cassander, to complain of Seleucus for having reconciled himself to the common enemy without the concurrence of the other kings. Demetrius being informed of his departure, left the sea, and marched up to Quinda; where, finding twelve hundred talents, the remains of his father's treasures, he carried them off, embarked again without interruption, and set sail with the utmost expedition, his wife Phila having joined him by the way.

Seleucus met him at Orossus. Their interview was conducted in a sincere and princely manner, without any marks of design or suspicion. Seleucus invited Demetrius first to his pavilion; and then Demetrius entertained him in his galley of thirteen banks of oars. They conversed at their ease, and passed the time together without guards or arms; till Seleucus took Stratonice, and carried her with great pomp to Antioch.

Demetrius seized the province of Cilicia, and sent Phila to her brother Cassander, to answer the accusations brought against him by Plistarchus. Mean time, Deidamia came to him from Greece, but she had not spent any long time with him before she sickened and died; and Demetrius having accommodated matters with Ptolemy through Seleucus, it was agreed that he should marry Ptolemais, the daughter of that prince.

 Hitherto

Hitherto Seleucus had behaved with honour and propriety: but afterwards he demanded that Demetrius ſhould ſurrender Cilicia to him for a ſum of money, and on his refuſal to do that, angrily inſiſted on having Tyre and Sidon. This behaviour appeared unjuſtifiable and cruel. When he already commanded Aſia from the Indies to the Syrian ſea, how ſordid was it to quarrel for two cities with a prince who was his father-in-law, and who laboured under ſo painful a reverſe of fortune. A ſtrong proof how true the maxim of Plato is, *That the man who would be truly happy, ſhould not ſtudy to enlarge his eſtate, but to contract his deſires.* For he who does not reſtrain his avarice, muſt for ever be poor.

However, Demetrius, far from being intimidated, ſaid, "Though I had loſt a thouſand battles as great as that of "Ipſus, nothing ſhould bring me to buy the alliance of "Seleucus;" and, upon this principle, he garriſoned theſe cities in the ſtrongeſt manner. About this time having intelligence that Athens was divided into factions, and that Lachares taking advantage of theſe, had ſeized the government, he expected to take the city with eaſe, if he appeared ſuddenly before it. Accordingly he ſet out with a conſiderable fleet, and croſſed the ſea without danger; but, on the coaſt of Attica he met with a ſtorm, in which he loſt many ſhips and great numbers of his men. He eſcaped, however, himſelf, and began hoſtilities againſt Athens, though with no great vigour. As his operations anſwered no end, he ſent his lieutenants to collect another fleet, and in the mean time entered Peloponneſus, and laid ſiege to Meſſene. In one of the aſſaults he was in great danger; for a dart which came from an engine, pierced through his jaw, and entered his mouth. But he recovered, and reduced ſome cities that had revolted. After this, he invaded Attica again, took Eleuſis and Rhamnus, and ravaged the country. Happening to take a ſhip loaded with wheat, which was bound for Athens, he hanged both the merchant and the pilot. This alarmed other merchants ſo much, that they forbore attempting any thing of that kind, ſo that a famine enſued; and, together with the want of bread-corn, the people were in want of every thing elſe. A buſhel * of ſalt was ſold for forty *drachmas*, and a peck † of

* *Medimnus.*

† *Modius.* Theſe meaſures were ſomething more, but we give only the round quantity. See the Table.

of wheat for three hundred. A ſleet of a hundred and fifty ſhips, which Ptolemy ſent to their relief, appeared before Ægina; but the encouragement it afforded them, was of ſhort continuance. A great reinforcement of ſhips came to Demetrius from Peloponneſus and Cyprus, ſo that he had not in all fewer than three hundred. Ptolemy's fleet, therefore, weighed anchor and ſteered off. The tyrant Lachares at the ſame time made his eſcape privately, and abandoned the city.

The Athenians, though they had made a decree that no man, under pain of death, ſhould mention peace or reconciliation with Demetrius, now opened the gates neareſt him, and ſent ambaſſadors to his camp. Not that they expected any favour from him, but they were forced to take that ſtep by the extremity of famine. In the courſe of it many dreadful things happened, and this is related among the reſt. A father and his ſon were ſitting in the ſame room in the laſt deſpair; when a dead mouſe happening to fall from the roof of the houſe, they both ſtarted up and fought for it. Epicurus the philoſopher is ſaid at that time to have ſupported his friends and diſciples with beans, which he ſhared with them, and counted out to them daily.

In ſuch a miſerable condition was the city, when Demetrius entered it. He ordered all the Athenians to aſſemble in the theatre, which he ſurrounded with his troops; and having planted his guards on each ſide the ſtage, he came down through the paſſage by which the tragedians enter. The fears of the people on his appearance increaſed, but they were entirely diſſipated when he began to ſpeak. For neither the accent of his voice was loud, nor his expreſſions ſevere. He complained of them in ſoft and eaſy terms, and taking them again into favour, made them a preſent of a hundred thouſand meaſures of wheat*, and re-eſtabliſhed ſuch an adminiſtration as was moſt agreeable to them.

The orator Dromoclides obſerved the variety of acclamations amongſt the people, and that in the joy of their hearts they endeavoured to outdo the encomiums of thoſe that ſpoke from the *roſtrum*. He therefore propoſed a decree that the Piræus and the fort of Munychia ſhould be delivered up to king Demetrius. After this bill was paſſed, Demetrius, on his own authority, put a garriſon in the Muſeum; leſt, if there ſhould be another defection amongſt the people, it might keep him from other enterprizes.

The

* *Medimni.*

The Athenians thus reduced, Demetrius immediately formed a deſign upon Lacedæmon. King Archidamus met him at Mantinea, where Demetrius defeated him in a pitched battle; and, after he had put him to flight, he entered Laconia. There was another action almoſt in ſight of Sparta, in which he killed two hundred of the enemy, and made five hundred priſoners: ſo that he ſeemed almoſt maſter of a town, which hitherto had never been taken. But ſurely fortune never diſplayed ſuch ſudden and extraordinary viciſſitudes in the life of any other prince; in no other ſcene of things did ſhe ſo often change from low to high, from a glorious to an abject condition, or again repair the ruins ſhe had made. Hence he is ſaid, in his greateſt adverſity, to have addreſſed her in the words of Æſchylus.—

> Thou gav'ſt me life and honour, and thy hand
> Now ſtrikes me to the heart.

When his affairs ſeemed to be in ſo promiſing a train for power and empire, news was brought that Lyſimachus, in the firſt place, had taken the cities he had in Aſia, that Ptolemy had diſpoſſeſſed him of all Cyprus, except the city of Salamis, in which he had left his children and his mother, and that this town was now actually beſieged. Fortune, however, like the woman in Archilochus,

> Whoſe right-hand offered water, while the left
> Bore hoſtile fire———

Though ſhe drew him from Lacedæmon by theſe alarming tidings, yet ſoon raiſed him a new ſcene of light and hope. She availed herſelf of theſe circumſtances:

After the death of Caſſander, his eldeſt ſon Philip had but a ſhort reign over the Macedonians, for he died ſoon after his father. The two remaining brothers were perpetually at variance. One of them, named Antipater, having killed his mother Theſſalonica, Alexander the other brother called in the Greek Princes to his aſſiſtance, Pyrrhus from Epirus, and Demetrius from Peloponneſus. Pyrrhus arrived firſt, and ſeized a conſiderable part of Macedonia, which he kept for his reward, and by that means became a formidable neighbour to Alexander. Demetrius no ſooner received the letters, than he marched his forces thither likewiſe, and the young prince was ſtill more afraid of him on account of his great name and dignity. He met him, however,

however, at Dium, and received him in the moſt reſpectful manner, but told him at the ſame time that his affairs did not now require his preſence. Hence mutual jealouſies aroſe, and Demetrius, as he was going to ſup with Alexander upon his invitation, was informed that there was a deſign againſt his life, which was to be put in execution in the midſt of the entertainment. Demetrius was not in the leaſt diſconcerted; he only ſlackened his pace, and gave orders to his generals to keep the troops under arms: after which he took his guards and the officers of his houſehold, who were much more numerous than thoſe of Alexander, and commanded them to enter the banqueting-room with him, and to remain there till he roſe from table. Alexander's people, intimidated by his train, durſt not attack Demetrius: and he, for his part, pretending that he was not diſpoſed to drink that evening, ſoon withdrew. Next day, he prepared to decamp; and alleging that he was called off by ſome new emergency, deſired Alexander to excuſe him if he left him ſoon this time; and aſſured him that at ſome other opportunity he would make a longer ſtay. Alexander rejoiced that he was going away voluntarily and without any hoſtile intentions, and accompanied him as far as Theſſaly. When they came to Lariſſe, they renewed their invitations, but both with malignity in their hearts. In conſequence of theſe polite manœuvres, Alexander fell into the ſnare of Demetrius. He would not go with a guard, leſt he ſhould teach the other to do the ſame. He therefore ſuffered that which he was preparing for his enemy, and which he only deferred for the ſurer and more convenient execution. He went to ſup with Demetrius; and as his hoſt roſe up in the midſt of the feaſt, Alexander was terrified, and roſe up with him. Demetrius, when he was at the door, ſaid no more to his guards than this, "Kill the man that follows me;" and then went out. Upon which, they cut Alexander in pieces, and his friends who attempted to aſſiſt him. One of theſe is reported to have ſaid, as he was dying, "Demetrius is but one day "beforehand with us."

The night was, as might be expected, full of terror and confuſion. In the morning, the Macedonians were greatly diſturbed with the apprehenſion that Demetrius would fall upon them with all his forces; but when, inſtead of an appearance of hoſtilities, he ſent a meſſage deſiring to ſpeak with them, and vindicate what was done, they recovered

 their

their ſpirits, and reſolved to receive him with civility: When he came, he found it unneceſſary to make long ſpeeches. They hated Antipater for the murder of his mother, and as they had no better prince at hand, they declared Demetrius king, and conducted him into Macedonia. The Macedonians who were at home, proved not averſe to the change. For they always remembered with horror Caſſander's baſe behaviour to Alexander the Great; and if they had any regard left for the moderation of old Antipater, it turned all in favour of Demetrius, who had married his daughter Phila, and had a ſon by her to ſucceed him in the throne, a youth who was already grown up, and at this very time bore arms under his father.

Immediately after this glorious turn of fortune, Demetrius received news that Ptolemy had ſet his wife and children at liberty, and diſmiſſed them with preſents and other tokens of honour. He was informed too, that his daughter, who had been married to Seleucus, was now wife to Antiochus the ſon of that prince, and declared queen of the barbarous nations in Upper Aſia. Antiochus was violently enamoured of the young Stratonice, though ſhe had a ſon by his father. His condition was extremely unhappy. He made the greateſt efforts to conquer his paſſion, but they were of no avail. At laſt, conſidering that his deſires were of the moſt extravagant kind, that there was no proſpect of ſatisfaction for them, and that the ſuccours of reaſon entirely failed, he reſolved in his deſpair to rid himſelf of life, and bring it gradually to a period, by neglecting all care of his perſon, and abſtaining from food. For this purpoſe he made ſickneſs his pretence. His phyſician Eraſiſtratus eaſily diſcovered that his diſtemper was love; but it was difficult to conjecture who was the object. In order to find it out, he ſpent whole days in his chamber; and whenever any beautiful perſon of either ſex entered it, he obſerved with great attention, not only his looks, but every part and motion of the body which correſponds the moſt with the paſſions of the ſoul. When others entered he was entirely unaffected, but when Stratonice came in, as ſhe often did, either alone or with Seleucus, he ſhewed all the ſymptoms deſcribed by Sappho, the faultering voice, the burning bluſh, the languid eye *, the ſudden ſweat, the tumultuous

* Οψεων ὑποδειξεις is a corruption. It ought to be read οψεων ὑπολειψεις, the faint, languid, or clouded eye.

tumultuous pulſe; and at length, the paſſion overcoming his ſpirits, a *deliquium* and mortal paleneſs.

Eraſiſtratus concluded from theſe tokens that the prince was in love with Stratonice, and perceived that he intended to carry the ſecret with him to the grave. He ſaw the difficulty of breaking the matter to Seleucus; yet depending upon the affection which the king had for his ſon, he ventured one day to tell him, "That the young man's diſ-" order was love, but love for which there was no remedy." The king, quite aſtoniſhed, ſaid, "How! love for which "there is no remedy!" "It is certainly ſo," anſwered Eraſiſtratus, "for he is in love with my wife." "What! "Eraſiſtratus!" ſaid the king, "would you, who are my "friend, refuſe to give up your wife to my ſon, when "you ſee us in danger of loſing our only hope?" "Nay, "would you do ſuch a thing," anſwered the phyſician, "though you are his father, if he were in love with Stra-"tonice?" "O my friend," replied Seleucus, "how happy "ſhould I be, if either God or man could remove his af-"fections thither! I would give up my kingdom, ſo I "could but keep Antiochus." He pronounced theſe words with ſo much emotion and ſuch a profuſion of tears, that Eraſiſtratus took him by the hand, and ſaid, "Then "there is no need of Eraſiſtratus. You, Sir, who are a "father, a huſband, and a king, will be the beſt phyſician "too for your family."

Upon this, Seleucus ſummoned the people to meet in full aſſembly, and told them, "It was his will and pleaſure "that Antiochus ſhould intermarry with Stratonice, and "that they ſhould be declared king and queen of the Upper "Provinces. He believed," he ſaid, "that Antiochus, who "was ſuch an obedient ſon, would not oppoſe his deſire; "and if the princeſs ſhould oppoſe the marriage, as an un-"precedented thing, he hoped his friends would perſuade "her to think, that what was agreeable to the king, and "advantageous to the kingdom, was both juſt and honour-"able." Such is ſaid to have been the cauſe of the marriage between Antiochus and Stratonice.

Demetrius was now maſter of Macedonia and Theſſaly; and as he had great part of Peloponneſus too, and the cities of Megara and Athens on the other ſide the Iſthmus, he wanted to reduce the Bœotians, and threatened them with hoſtilities. At firſt they propoſed to come to an accommodation with him on reaſonable conditions; but Cleonymus

the Spartan having thrown himſelf in the mean time into Thebes with his army, the Bœotians were ſo much elated, that, at the inſtigation of Piſis the Theſpian, who was a leading man among them, they broke off the treaty. Demetrius then drew up his machines to the walls, and laid ſiege to Thebes; upon which, Cleonymus apprehending the conſequence, ſtole out; and the Thebans were ſo much intimidated, that they immediately ſurrendered. Demetrius placed garriſons in their cities, exacted large contributions, and left Hieronymus the hiſtorian governor of Bœotia. He appeared, however, to make a merciful uſe of his victory, particularly in the caſe of Piſis. For though he took him priſoner, he did not offer him any injury: on the contrary, he treated him with great civility and politeneſs, and appointed him *polemarch* of Theſpiæ.

Not long after this, Lyſimachus being taken priſoner by Dromichætes, Demetrius marched towards Thrace with all poſſible expedition, hoping to find it in a defenceleſs ſtate. But while he was gone, the Bœotians revolted again, and he had the mortification to hear on the road, that Lyſimachus was ſet at liberty. He therefore immediately turned back in great anger; and finding, on his return, that the Bœotians were already driven out of the field by his ſon Antigonus, he laid ſiege again to Thebes. However, as Pyrrhus had over-run all Theſſaly, and was advanced as far as Thermopylæ, Demetrius left the conduct of the ſiege to his ſon Antigonus, and marched againſt that warrior.

Pyrrhus immediately retiring, Demetrius placed a guard of ten thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe in Theſſaly, and then returned to the ſiege. His firſt operation was to bring up his machine called *helepoles*; but he proceeded in it with great labour and by ſlow degrees, by reaſon of its ſize and weight; he could ſcarce move it two furlongs in two months *. As the Bœotians made a vigorous reſiſtance, and Demetrius often obliged his men to renew the aſſault, rather out of a ſpirit of animoſity, than the hope of any advantage, young Antigonus was greatly concerned at ſeeing ſuch numbers fall, and ſaid, "Why, Sir, do we let theſe "brave fellows loſe their lives without any neceſſity?" Demetrius, offended at the liberty he took, made anſwer, "Why do you trouble yourſelf about it? Have you any "proviſions

* A wonderful kind of motion this for a machine that *ran* upon wheels! about twelve inches in an hour!

"provifions to find for the dead?" To fhew, however, that he was not prodigal of the lives of his troops only, he took his fhare in the danger, and received a wound from a lance that pierced through his neck. This gave him exceffive pain, yet he continued the fiege till he once more made himfelf mafter of Thebes. He entered the city with fuch an air of refentment and feverity, that the inhabitants expected to fuffer the moft dreadful punifhments; yet he contented himfelf with putting thirteen of them to death, and banifhing a few more. All the reft he pardoned. Thus Thebes was taken twice within ten years after its being rebuilt.

The Pythian games now approached, and Demetrius on this occafion took a very extraordinary ftep. As the Ætolians were in poffeffion of the paffes to Delphi, he ordered the games to be folemnized at Athens; alleging, that they could not pay their homage to Apollo in a more proper place than that where the people confidered him as their patron and progenitor.

From thence he returned to Macedonia: but as he was naturally indifpofed for a life of quiet and inaction, and obferved befides that the Macedonians were attentive and obedient to him in time of war, though turbulent and feditious in peace, he undertook an expedition againft the Ætolians. After he had ravaged the country, he left Pantauchus there with a refpectable army, and with the reft of his forces marched againft Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus was coming to feek him; but as they happened to take different roads and miffed each other, Demetrius laid wafte Epirus, and Pyrrhus falling upon Pantauchus, obliged him to ftand on his defence. The two generals met in the action, and both gave and received wounds. Pyrrhus, however, defeated his adverfary, killed great numbers of his men, and made five thoufand prifoners.

This battle was the principal caufe of Demetrius's ruin. For Pyrrhus was not fo much hated by the Macedonians for the mifchief he had done them, as admired for his perfonal bravery; and the late battle in particular gained him great honour: infomuch, that many of the Macedonians faid, "That of all the kings, it was in Pyrrhus only that "they faw a lively image of Alexander's valour; whereas "the other princes, efpecially Demetrius, imitated him "only in a theatrical manner, by affecting a lofty port and "majeftic air."

Indeed, Demetrius did always appear like a theatrical king. For he not only affected a ſuperfluity of ornament in wearing a double diadem, and a robe of purple interwoven with gold, but he had his ſhoes made of cloth of gold, with ſoals of fine purple. There was a robe a long time in weaving for him, of moſt ſumptuous magnificence. The figure of the world and all the heavenly bodies were to be repreſented upon it; but it was left unfiniſhed, on acacount of his change of fortune. Nor did any of his ſucceſſors ever preſume to wear it, though Macedon had many pompous kings after him.

This oſtentation of dreſs offended a people who were unaccuſtomed to ſuch ſights; but his luxurious and diſſolute manner of life was a more obnoxious circumſtance: and what diſobliged them moſt of all, was his difficulty of acceſs. For he either refuſed to ſee thoſe who applied to him, or behaved to them in a harſh and haughty manner. Though he favoured the Athenians more than the reſt of the Greeks, their ambaſſadors waited two years at his court for an anſwer. The Lacedæmonians happening to ſend only one ambaſſador to him, he conſidered it as an affront, and ſaid in great anger, "What! have the Lacedæmonians ſent no "more than one ambaſſador." "No," ſaid the Spartan, acutely in his laconic way, "one ambaſſador to one "king."

One day, when he ſeemed to come out in a more obliging temper, and to be ſomething leſs inacceſſible, he was preſented with ſeveral petitions, all which he received, and put them in the ſkirt of his robe. The people of courſe followed him with great joy: but no ſooner was he come to the bridge over the *Axius*, than he opened his robe, and ſhook them all into the river. This ſtung the Macedonians to the heart; when, looking for the protection of a king, they found the inſolence of a tyrant. And this treatment appeared the harder to ſuch as had ſeen, or heard from thoſe who had ſeen, how kind the behaviour of Philip was on ſuch occaſions. An old woman was one day very troubleſome to him in the ſtreet, and begged with great importunity to be heard. He ſaid, "He was not at leiſure." "Then," cried the old woman, "you ſhould not be a king." The king was ſtruck with theſe words; and having conſidered the thing a moment, he returned to his palace; where, poſtponing all other affairs, he gave audience for ſeveral days to all who choſe to apply to him, beginning with

with the old woman. Indeed, nothing becomes a king ſo much as the diſtribution of juſtice. For "Mars is a "tyrant," as Timotheus expreſſes it; but juſtice, according to Pindar, "Is the rightful ſovereign of the world." The things which, Homer tells us, kings receive from Jove, are not machines for taking towns, or ſhips with brazen beaks, but law and juſtice *: theſe they are to guard and to cultivate. And it is not the moſt warlike, the moſt violent and ſanguinary, but the juſteſt of princes, whom he calls the diſciple of Jupiter †. But Demetrius was pleaſed with an appellation quite oppoſite to that which is given the king of the Gods. For Jupiter is called *Policus* and *Poliuchus*, the *patron* and *guardian of cities*; Demetrius is ſurnamed *Poliorcetes*, the *deſtroyer of cities*. Thus in conſequence of the union of power and folly, vice is ſubſtituted in the place of virtue, and the ideas of glory and injuſtice are united too.

When Demetrius lay dangerouſly ill at Pella, he was very near loſing Macedonia; for Pyrrhus, by a ſudden inroad, penetrated as far as Edeſſa. But as ſoon as he recovered, he repulſed him with eaſe, and afterwards he came to terms with him: for he was not willing to be hindered, by ſkirmiſhing for poſts with Pyrrhus, from the purſuit of greater and more arduous enterprizes. His ſcheme was to recover all his father's dominions; and his preparations were ſuitable to the greatneſs of the object. For he had raiſed an army of ninety eight thouſand foot, and near twelve thouſand horſe; and he was building five hundred gallies in the ports of Piræus, Corinth, Chalcis, and Pella. He went himſelf to all theſe places, to give directions to the workmen, and aſſiſt in the conſtruction. All the world was ſurpriſed, not only at the number, but at the greatneſs of his works. For no man, before his time, ever ſaw a galley of fifteen or ſixteen banks of oars. Afterwards, indeed, Ptolemy Philopater built one of forty banks: its length was two hundred and eighty cubits, and its height to the top of the prow ‡ forty eight cubits. Four hundred mariners belonged to it, excluſive of the rowers, who were no fewer than four thouſand; and the decks and the ſeveral interſtices were capable of containing near three thouſand ſoldiers. This, however, was mere matter of curioſity; for it differed very little from an immoveable building, and was calculated more for ſhew, than for uſe, as it could not be



* Il. l. i. 231. † Od. xix. 178. ‡ ακροστολιον.

be put in motion without great difficulty and danger. But the ships of Demetrius had their use as well as beauty; with all their magnificence of construction, they were equally fit for fighting; and though they were admirable for their size, they were still more so for the swiftness of their motion.

Demetrius having provided such an armament for the invasion of Asia, as no man ever had before him, except Alexander the Great; Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lysimachus united against him. They likewise joined in an application to Pyrrhus, desiring him to fall upon Macedonia; and not to look upon himself as bound by the treaty with Demetrius, since that prince had entered into it, not with any regard to the advantage of Pyrrhus, or in order to avoid future hostilities, but merely for his own sake, that he might at present be at liberty to turn his arms against whom he pleased. As Pyrrhus accepted the proposal, Demetrius, while he was preparing for his voyage, found himself surrounded with war at home. For, at one instant of time, Ptolemy came with a great fleet to draw Greece off from its present master, Lysimachus invaded Macedonia from Thrace, and Pyrrhus entering it from a nearer quarter, joined in ravaging that country. Demetrius, on this occasion, left his son in Greece, and went himself to the relief of Macedonia. His first operations were intended against Lysimachus, but as he was upon his march he received an account that Pyrrhus had taken Berœa; and the news soon spreading among his Macedonians, he could do nothing in an orderly manner: for nothing was to be found in the whole army but lamentations, tears, and expressions of resentment and reproach against their king. They were even ready to march off, under pretence of attending to their domestic affairs, but in fact to join Lysimachus.

In this case Demetrius thought proper to get at the greatest distance he could from Lysimachus, and turn his arms against Pyrrhus. Lysimachus was of their own nation, and many of them knew him in the service of Alexander; whereas Pyrrhus was an entire stranger, and therefore he thought the Macedonians would never give him the preference. But he was sadly mistaken in his conjecture; and he soon found it upon encamping near Pyrrhus. The Macedonians always admired his distinguished valour, and had of old been accustomed to think the best man in the field the most worthy of a crown. Besides, they received daily

daily accounts of the clemency with which he behaved to his prisoners. Indeed, they were inclined to desert to him or any other, so they could but get rid of Demetrius. They therefore began to go off privately and in small parties at first, but afterwards there was nothing but open disorder and mutiny in the camp. At last some of them had the assurance to go to Demetrius, and bid him provide for himself by flight, for "The Macedonians (they told him) were "tired of fighting to maintain his luxury." These expressions appeared modest in comparison of the rude behaviour of others. He therefore entered his tent not like a real king, but a theatrical one, and having quitted his royal robe for a black one, privately withdrew. As multitudes were pillaging his tent, who not only tore it to pieces, but fought for the plunder, Pyrrhus made his appearance; upon which, the tumult instantly ceased, and the whole army submitted to him. Lysimachus and he then divided Macedonia between them, which Demetrius had held without disturbance for seven years.

Demetrius, thus fallen from the pinnacle of power, fled to Cassandria, where his wife Phila was. Nothing could equal her sorrow on this occasion. She could not bear to see the unfortunate Demetrius once more a private man and an exile! In her despair, therefore, and detestation of fortune, who was always more constant to him in her visits of adversity than prosperity, she took poison.

Demetrius, however, resolved to gather up the remains of his wreck: for which purpose he repaired to Greece, and collected such of his friends and officers as he found there. Menelaus, in one of the tragedies of Sophocles, gives this picture of his own fortune:

I move on Fortune's rapid wheel: my lot
For ever changing like the changeful moon,
That each night varies; hardly now perceiv'd;
And now she shews her bright horn; by degrees
She fills her orb with light; but when she reigns
In all her pride, she then begins once more
To waste her glories, till dissolv'd and lost,
She sinks again to darkness. ——

But this picture is more applicable to Demetrius, in his increase and wane, his splendor and obscurity. His glory seemed now entirely eclipsed and extinguished, and yet it broke out again, and shone with new splendor. Fresh forces

forces came in, and gradually filled up the meaſure of his hopes. This was the firſt time he addreſſed the cities as a private man, and without any of the enſigns of royalty. Somebody ſeeing him at Thebes in this condition, applied to him, with propriety enough, thoſe verſes of Euripides,

> To Dirce's fountain, and Iſmenus' ſhore
> In mortal form he moves, a God no more.

When he had got into the high road of hope again, and had once more a reſpectable force and form of royalty about him, he reſtored the Thebans their ancient government and laws. At the ſame time the Athenians abandoned his intereſts, and razing out of their regiſters the name of Diphilus, who was then prieſt of the gods protectors, ordered Archons to be appointed again, according to ancient cuſtom. They likewiſe ſent for Pyrrhus from Macedonia, becauſe they ſaw Demetrius grown ſtronger than they expected. Demetrius, greatly enraged, marched immediately to attack them, and laid ſtrong ſiege to the city. But Crates the philoſopher, a man of great reputation and authority, being ſent out to him by the people, partly by his intreaties for the Athenians, and partly by repreſenting to him that his intereſt laid another way, prevailed on Demetrius to raiſe the ſiege. After this, he collected all his ſhips, embarked his army, which conſiſted of eleven thouſand foot, beſide cavalry, and failed to Aſia, in hopes of drawing Caria and Lydia over from Lyſimachus. Eurydice, the ſiſter of Phila, received him at Miletus, having brought with her Ptolemais, a daughter ſhe had by Ptolemy, who had formerly been promiſed him upon the application of Seleucus. Demetrius married her with the free conſent of Eurydice, and ſoon after attempted the cities in that quarter; many of them opened their gates to him, and many others he took by force. Among the latter was Sardis. Some of the officers of Lyſimachus likewiſe deſerted to him, and brought ſufficient appointments of money and troops with them. But, as Agathocles the ſon of Lyſimachus came againſt him with a great army, he marched to Phrygia, with an intention to ſeize Armenia, and then to try Media and the Upper Provinces, which might afford him many places of retreat upon occaſion. Agathocles followed him cloſe, and as he found Demetrius ſuperior in all the ſkirmiſhes that he ventured upon, he betook himſelf to cutting off his convoys. This diſtreſſed him not a little;

and, what was another diſagreeable circumſtance, his ſoldiers ſuſpected that he deſigned to lead them into Armenia and Media.

The famine increaſed every day; and by miſtaking the fords of the river Lycus he had a great number of men ſwept away with the ſtream. Yet, amidſt all their diſtreſs, his troops were capable of jeſting. One of them wrote upon the door of his tent the beginning of the tragedy of Œdipus with a ſmall alteration,

> Thou offspring of the blind old king Antigonus,
> Where doſt thou lead us? *

Peſtilence at laſt followed the famine, as it commonly happens when people are under a neceſſity of eating any thing however unwholeſome, ſo that finding he had loſt in all not leſs than eight thouſand men, he turned back with the reſt. When he came down to Tarſus, he was deſirous of ſparing the country, becauſe it belonged to Seleucus, and he did not think proper to give him any pretence to declare againſt him. But perceiving that it was impoſſible for his troops to avoid taking ſomething, when they were reduced to ſuch extremities, and that Agathocles had fortified the paſſes of Mount Taurus, he wrote a letter to Seleucus containing a long and moving detail of his misfortune, and concluding with ſtrong intreaties that he would take compaſſion on a prince who was allied to him, and whoſe ſufferings were ſuch as even an enemy might be affected with.

Seleucus was touched with pity, and ſent orders to his lieutenants in thoſe parts to ſupply Demetrius with every thing ſuitable to the ſtate of a king, and his army with ſufficient proviſions. But Patrocles, who was a man of underſtanding, and a faithful friend to Seleucus, went to that prince and repreſented to him, " That the expence of " furniſhing the troops of Demetrius with proviſions, was " a thing of ſmall importance, in compariſon of ſuffering " Demetrius himſelf to remain in the country, who was " always

* The alteration was very ſmall indeed, for it was only changing Αντιγονη into Αντιγονου. In the tragedy it is

> Τεκνον τυφλου γεροντος, Αντιγονη, τινας
> Χωρους ἀφιγμεθα ——

The cloſeneſs of the parody is what Plutarch calls the jeſt.

"always one of the moſt violent and enterprizing princes "in the world, and now was in ſuch deſperate circum-"ſtances as might put even thoſe of the mildeſt diſpoſi-"tions on bold and unjuſt attempts."

Upon theſe repreſentations Seleucus marched into Cilicia with a great army. Demetrius, aſtoniſhed and terrified at the ſudden change in Seleucus, withdrew to the ſtrongeſt poſts he could find upon Mount Taurus, and ſent a meſſage to him, begging, "That he might be ſuffered "to make a conqueſt of ſome free nations of barbarians, "and by ſettling amongſt them as their king, put a pe-"riod to his wanderings. If this could not be granted, "he hoped Seleucus would at leaſt permit him to winter "in that country, and not, by driving him out naked and "in want of every thing, expoſe him in that condition to "his enemies."

As all theſe propoſals had a ſuſpicious appearance to Seleucus, he made anſwer, "That he might, if he pleaſed, "ſpend two months of the winter in Cataonia, if he ſent "him his principal friends as hoſtages." But at the ſame time he ſecured the paſſes into Syria. Demetrius, thus ſurrounded like a wild beaſt in the toils, was under a neceſſity of having recourſe to violence. He therefore ravaged the country, and had the advantage of Seleucus whenever he attacked him. Seleucus once beſet him with his armed chariots, and yet he broke through them, and put his enemy to the route. After this he diſlodged the corps that was to defend the heights on the ſide of Syria, and made himſelf maſter of the paſſages.

Elevated with this ſucceſs, and finding the courage of his men reſtored, he prepared to fight a deciſive battle with Seleucus. That prince was now in great perplexity. He had rejected the ſuccours offered him by Lyſimachus, for want of confidence in his honour, and from an apprehenſion of his deſigns; and he was loth to try his ſtrength with Demetrius, becauſe he dreaded his deſperate courage, as well as his uſual change of fortune, which often raiſed him from great miſery to the ſummit of power. In the mean time Demetrius was ſeized with a fit of ſickneſs, which greatly impaired his perſonal vigour, and entirely ruined his affairs: for part of his men went over to the enemy, and part left their colours and diſperſed. In forty days he recovered with great difficulty, and getting under march with the remains of his army, made a feint of moving towards

wards Cilicia. But afterwards in the night he decamped without found of trumpet, and taking the contrary way, croffed Mount Amanus, and ravaged the country on the other fide, as far as Cyrrheftica.

Seleucus followed, and encamped very near him. Demetrius then put his army in motion in the night, in hopes of furprifing him. Seleucus was retired to reft; and in all probability his enemy would have fucceeded, had not fome deferters informed him of his danger, juft time enough for him to put himfelf in a pofture of defence. Upon this he ftarted up in great confternation, and ordered the trumpets to found an alarm; and as he put on his fandals, he faid to his friends, "What a terrible wild beaft "are we engaged with!" Demetrius perceiving by the tumult in the enemy's camp that his fcheme was difcovered, retired as faft as poffible.

At break of day Seleucus offered him battle, when Demetrius ordering one of his officers to take care of one wing, put himfelf at the head of the other, and made fome impreffion upon the enemy. Meantime Seleucus quitting his horfe, and laying afide his helmet, prefented himfelf to Demetrius's hired troops with only his buckler in his hand; exhorting them to come over to him, and to be convinced at laft that it was to fpare them, not Demetrius, that he had been fo long about the war. Upon which, they all faluted him king, and ranged themfelves under his banner.

Demetrius, though of all the changes he had experienced he thought this the moft terrible, yet imagining that he might extricate himfelf from this diftrefs as well as the reft, fled to the paffes of Mount Amanus; and gaining a thick wood, waited there for the night, with a few friends and attendants who followed his fortune. His intention was, if poffible, to take the way to Caunus, where he hoped to find his fleet, and from thence to make his efcape by fea; but knowing he had not provifions even for that day, he fought for fome other expedient. Afterwards one of his friends, named Sofigenes, arrived with four hundred pieces of gold in his purfe; with the affiftance of which money they hoped to reach the fea. Accordingly when night came, they attempted to pafs the heights; but finding a number of fires lighted there by the enemy, they defpaired of fucceeding that way, and returned to their former retreat, but neither with their whole company (for fome had gone off), nor

nor with the ſame ſpirits. One of them venturing to tell him, that he thought it was beſt for him to ſurrender himſelf to Seleucus, Demetrius drew his ſword to kill himſelf; but his friends interpoſed, and conſoling him in the beſt manner they could, perſuaded him to follow his advice: in conſequence of which he ſent to Seleucus, and yielded himſelf to his diſcretion.

Upon this news, Seleucus ſaid to thoſe about him, "It "is not the good fortune of Demetrius, but mine, that "now ſaves him; and that adds to other favours this op-"portunity of teſtifying my humanity." Then calling the officers of his houſehold, he ordered them to pitch a royal tent, and to provide every thing elſe for his reception and entertainment in the moſt magnificent manner. As there happened to be in the ſervice of Seleucus one Apollonides, who was an old acquaintance of Demetrius, he immediately ſent that perſon to him, that he might be more at eaſe, and come with the greater confidence, as to a ſon-in-law and a friend.

On the diſcovery of this favourable diſpoſition of Seleucus towards him, at a firſt view, and afterwards a great number of the courtiers waited on Demetrius, and ſtrove which ſhould pay him the moſt reſpect; for it was expected that his intereſt with Seleucus would ſoon be the beſt in the kingdom. But theſe compliments turned the compaſſion which his diſtreſs had excited into jealouſy, and gave occaſion to the envious and malevolent to divert the ſtream of the king's humanity from him, by alarming him with apprehenſions of no inſenſible change, but of the greateſt commotions in his army on the ſight of Demetrius.

Apollonides was now come to Demetrius with great ſatisfaction; and others who followed to pay their court brought extraordinary accounts of the kindneſs of Seleucus; inſomuch that Demetrius, though in the firſt ſhock of his misfortune, he had thought it a great diſgrace to ſurrender himſelf, was now diſpleaſed at his averſion to that ſtep. Such confidence had he in the hopes they held out to him; when Pauſanius coming with a party of horſe and foot, to the number of a thouſand, ſuddenly ſurrounded him, and drove away ſuch as he found inclined to favour his cauſe. After he had thus ſeized his perſon, inſtead of conducting him to the preſence of Seleucus, he carried him to the Syrian Cherſoneſus. There he was kept, indeed, under a ſtrong guard, but Seleucus ſent him a ſufficient equipage, and

and ſupplied him with money and a table ſuitable to his rank. He had alſo places of exerciſe and walks worthy of a king; his parks were well ſtored with game; and ſuch of his friends as had accompanied him in his flight, were permitted to attend him. Seleucus, too, had the complaiſance often to ſend ſome of his people with kind and encouraging meſſages, intimating, that as ſoon as Antiochus and Stratonice ſhould arrive, terms of accommodation would be hit upon, and he would obtain his liberty.

Under this misfortune, Demetrius wrote to his ſon, and to his officers and friends in Athens and Corinth, deſiring them to truſt neither his hand-writing nor his ſeal, but to act as if he were dead, and to keep the cities and all his remaining eſtates for Antigonus. When the young prince was informed of his father's confinement, he was extremely concerned at it; he put on mourning, and wrote not only to the other kings, but to Seleucus himſelf; offering, on condition that his father were ſet free, to cede all the poſſeſſions they had left, and deliver himſelf up as an hoſtage. Many cities and princes joined in the requeſt; but Lyſimachus was not of the number. On the contrary, he offered Seleucus a large ſum of money to induce him to put Demetrius to death. Seleucus, who looked upon him in an indifferent light before, abhorred him as a villain for this propoſal; and only waited for the arrival of Antiochus and Stratonice, to make them the compliment of reſtoring Demetrius to his liberty.

Demetrius, who at firſt ſupported his misfortune with patience, by cuſtom learned to ſubmit to it with a ſtill better grace. For ſome time he took the exerciſes of hunting and running; but he left them by degrees, and ſunk into indolence and inactivity. Afterwards, he took to drinking and play, and ſpent moſt of his time in that kind of diſſipation. Whether it was to put off the thoughts of his preſent condition, which he could not bear in his ſober hours, and to drown reflection in the bowl; or whether he was ſenſible at laſt that this was the ſort of life which, though originally the object of his deſires, he had idly wandered from, to follow the dictates of an abſurd ambition. Perhaps he conſidered that he had given himſelf and others infinite trouble, by ſeeking with fleets and armies that happineſs, which he found, when he leaſt expected it, in eaſe, indulgence and repoſe. For what other end does the wretched vanity of kings propoſe to itſelf in all their

wars and dangers, but to quit the paths of virtue and honour for thofe of luxury and pleafure; the fure confequence of their not knowing what real pleafure and true enjoyment are.

Demetrius, after three years confinement in the Cherfonefus, fell into a diftemper occafioned by idlenefs and excefs, which carried him off at the age of fifty-four. Seleucus was feverely cenfured, and indeed was much concerned himfelf, for his unjuft fufpicions of Demetrius; whereas he fhould have followed the example of Dromichætes, who, though a Thracian and barbarian, had treated Lyfimachus, when his prifoner, with all the generofity that became a king.

There was fomething of a theatrical pomp even in the funeral of Demetrius. For Antigonus being informed that they were bringing his father's afhes to Greece, went to meet them with his whole fleet; and finding them near the Ifles of the Ægean fea, he took the urn, which was of folid gold, on board the admiral galley. The cities at which they touched fent crowns to adorn the urn, and perfons in mourning to affift at the funeral folemnity.

When the fleet approached Corinth, the urn was feen in a confpicuous pofition upon the ftern of the veffel, adorned with a purple robe and a diadem, and attended by a company of young men well armed. Xenophantus, a moft celebrated performer on the flute, fat by the urn, and played a folemn air. The oars kept time with the notes, and accompanied them with a melancholy found, like that of mourners in a funeral proceffion, beating their breafts in concert with the mufic. But it was the mournful appearance and the tears of Antigonus that excited the greateft compaffion among the people as they paffed. After the Corinthians had beftowed crowns and all due honours upon the remains, Antigonus carried them to Demetrius, and depofited them there. This was a city called after the deceafed, which he had peopled from the little towns about Jolcos.

Demetrius left behind him feveral children; Antigonus and Stratonice, whom he had by his wife Phila; two fons of the nam eof Demetrius; one furnamed *The Slender*, by an Illyrian woman; the other was by Ptolemais, and came to be king of Cyrene. By Deidamia he had Alexander, who took up his refidence in Ægypt; and by his laft wife Eurydice he is faid to have had a fon named Corrhæbus.

His

His posterity enjoyed the throne in continued succession down to Perseus * the last king of Macedon, in whose time the Romans subdued that country. Thus having gone through the Macedonian drama, it is time that we bring the Roman upon the stage.

## ANTONY.

THE grandfather of Mark Antony was Antony the orator, who followed the faction of Sylla, and was put to death by Marius †. His father was Antony, surnamed the Cretan, a man of no figure or consequence in the political world ‡, but distinguished for his integrity, benevolence, and liberality; of which the following little circumstance is a sufficient proof. His fortune was not large; and his wife, therefore, very prudently laid some restraint on his munificent disposition. An acquaintance of his, who was under some pecuniary difficulties, applied to him for assistance. Antony, having no money at command, ordered his boy to bring him a silver bason full of water, under a pretence of shaving. After the boy was dismissed, he gave the bason to his friend, and bade him make what use of it he thought proper. The disappearance of the bason occasioned no small commotion in the family; and Antony finding his wife prepared to take a severe account of the servants, begged her pardon, and told her the truth.

His wife's name was Julia. She was of the family of the Cæsars, and a woman of distinguished merit and modesty. Under her auspices, Mark Antony received his education; when, after the death of his father, she married Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death for engaging in the conspiracy of Catiline. This was the origin of that lasting enmity which subsisted between Cicero and Antony. The latter affirmed, that his mother Julia was even obliged to beg the body, of Cicero's wife, for interment. But this is not true; for none of those who suffered on the same occasion,

* About one hundred and sixteen years.

† Valerius Maximus says, that Antony the orator was put to death by the joint order of Cinna and Marius. But Cicero mentions Cinna as the immediate cause. Cic. Philip. I.

‡ Nevertheless, he conducted the war in Crete, and from thence was called *Cretensis*.

caſion, under Cicero, were refuſed this privilege. Antony was engaging in his perſon, and was unfortunate enough to fall into the good graces and friendſhip of Curio, a man who was devoted to every ſpecies of licentiouſneſs, and who, to render Antony the more dependent on him, led him into all the exceſſes of indulging in wine and women, and all the expences that ſuch indulgencies are attended with. Of courſe, he was ſoon deeply involved in debt, and owed at leaſt two hundred and fifty talents, while he was a very young man. Curio was bound for the payment of this money; and his father being informed of it, baniſhed Antony from his houſe. Thus diſmiſſed, he attached himſelf to Clodius, that peſtilent and audacious tribune, who threw the ſtate into ſuch dreadful diſorder; till weary of his mad meaſures, and fearful of his opponents, he paſſed into Greece, where he employed himſelf in military exerciſes, and the ſtudy of eloquence. The Aſiatic ſtyle * was then much in vogue, and Antony fell naturally into it; for it was correſpondent with his manners, which were vain, pompous, inſolent, and aſſuming.

In Greece he received an invitation from Gabinius the proconſul, to make a campaign with him in Syria †. This invitation he refuſed to accept, as a private man; but being appointed to the command of the cavalry, he attended him. His firſt operation was againſt Ariſtobulus, who had excited the Jews to revolt. He was the firſt who ſcaled the wall; and this he did in the higheſt part. He drove Ariſtobulus from all his forts; and, afterwards, with a handful of men, defeated his numerous army in a pitched battle. Moſt of the enemy were ſlain, and Ariſtobulus and his ſon were taken priſoners. Upon the concluſion of this war, Gabinius was ſolicited by Ptolemy to carry his arms into Egypt, and reſtore him to his kingdom ‡. The reward of this ſervice was to be ten thouſand talents. Moſt of the officers diſapproved of the expedition; and Gabinius himſelf did not readily enter into it, though the money pleaded

* Cicero, in his *Brutus*, mentions two ſorts of ſtyle called the *Aſiatic*. *Unum ſententioſum et argutum, ſententiis non tam gravibus et ſeveris quam concinnis et venuſtis. Aliud autem genus eſt non tam ſententiis frequentatum quam verbis volucre, atque incitatum; quali nunc eſt Aſia tota, nec flumine ſolum orationis, ſed etiam exornato et faceto genere verborum.*

† Aulus Gabinius was conſul in the year of Rome 695; and the year following he went into Syria.

‡ Dion, l. xxxix.

pleaded ſtrongly in its behalf. Antony, however, ambitious of great enterprizes, and vain of gratifying a ſuppliant king, uſed every means to draw Gabinius into the ſervice, and prevailed. It was the general opinion that the march to Peluſium was more dangerous than the war that was to follow. For they were to paſs over a ſandy and unwatered country, by the filthy marſh of Serbonis, whoſe ſtagnant ooze the Egyptians call the exhalations of Typhon; though it is probably no more than the drainings of the Red ſea, which is there ſeparated from the Mediterranean only by a ſmall neck of land.

Antony being ordered thither with the cavalry, not only ſeized the ſtraits, but took the large city of Peluſium, and made the garriſon priſoners. By this operation he at once opened a ſecure paſſage for the army, and a fair proſpect of victory for their general. The ſame love of glory which was ſo ſerviceable to his own party, was, on this occaſion, advantageous to the enemy. For when Ptolemy entered Peluſium, in the rage of revenge, he would have put the citizens to death, but Antony reſolutely oppoſed it, and prevented him from executing his horrid purpoſe. In the ſeveral actions where he was concerned, he gave diſtinguiſhed proofs of his conduct and valour; but eſpecially in that manœuvre where, by wheeling about and attacking the enemy in the rear, he enabled thoſe who charged in front to gain a complete victory. For this action he received ſuitable honours and rewards.

His humane care of the body of Archelaus, who fell in the battle, was taken notice of even by the common men. He had been his intimate friend, and connected with him in the rights of hoſpitality; and though he was obliged, by his duty, to oppoſe him in the field, he no ſooner heard that he was fallen, than he ordered ſearch to be made for his body, and interred it with regal magnificence. This conduct made him reſpected in Alexandria, and admired by the Romans.

Antony had a noble dignity of countenance, a graceful length of beard, a large forehead, an aquiline noſe; and, upon the whole, the ſame manly aſpect that we ſee in the pictures and ſtatues of Hercules. There was, indeed, an ancient tradition that his family was deſcended from Hercules, by a ſon of his called Anteon; and it was no wonder if Antony ſought to confirm this opinion, by affecting to reſemble him in his air and his dreſs. Thus, when he appeared

peared in public, he wore his vest girt on the hips, a large sword, and over all a coarse mantle. That kind of conduct, which would seem disagreeable to others, rendered him the darling of the army. He talked with the soldiers in their own swaggering and ribbald strain, eat and drank with them in public, and would stand to take his victuals at their common table. He was pleasant on the subject of his amours, ready in assisting the intrigues of others, and easy under the raillery to which he was subjected by his own. His liberality to the soldiers, and to his friends, was the first foundation of his advancement, and continued to support him in that power which he was otherwise weakening by a thousand irregularities. One instance of his liberality I must mention. He had ordered two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas (which the Romans call *decies*) to be given to one of his friends. His steward, who was startled at the extravagance of the sum, laid the silver in a heap, that he might see it as he passed. He saw it, and inquired what it was for. "It is the sum," answered the steward, "that you ordered for a present." Antony perceived his envious design, and, to mortify him still more, said coolly, "I really thought the sum would have made a better figure. "'Tis too little! let it be doubled *." This, however, was in the latter part of his life.

Rome was divided into two parties. Pompey was with the senate. The people were for bringing Cæsar with his army out of Gaul. Curio, the friend of Antony, who had changed sides, and joined Cæsar, brought Antony likewise over to his interest. The influence he had obtained by his eloquence, and by that profusion of money in which he was supported by Cæsar, enabled him to make Antony tribune of the people, and afterwards augur. Antony was no sooner in power than Cæsar found the advantage of his services In the first place, he opposed the consul Marcellus, whose design was to give Pompey the command of the old legions, and, at the same time, to empower him to raise new ones. On this occasion he obtained a decree, that the forces then on foot should be sent into Syria, and join Bibulus in carrying on the war against the Parthians; and that none should give in their names to serve under Pompey. On another occasion, when the senate would neither receive Cæsar's letters, nor suffer them to be read, he

* The same story is told of Alexander.

he read them by virtue of his tribunitial authority; and the requests of Cæsar appearing moderate and reasonable, by this means he brought over many to his interest. Two questions were at length put in the senate; one, "Whether "Pompey should dismiss his army;" the other, "Whether "Cæsar should give up his." There were but a few votes for the former; a large majority for the latter. Then Antony stood up, and put the question, "Whether both Cæsar "and Pompey should not dismiss their armies." This motion was received with great acclamations, and Antony was applauded, and desired to put it to the vote. This being opposed by the consuls, the friends of Cæsar made other proposals, which seemed by no means unreasonable: But they were over-ruled by Cato*; and Antony commanded by Lentulus the consul, to leave the house. He left them with better execrations; and disguising himself like a servant, accompanied only by Quintus Cassius, he hired a carriage, and went immediately to Cæsar. As soon as they arrived, they exclaimed that nothing was conducted at Rome, according to order or law, that even the tribunes were refused the privilege of speaking, and whoever would rise in defence of the right, must be expelled, and exposed to personal danger.

Cæsar, upon this, marched his army into Italy, and hence it was observed by Cicero in his Philippics, that Antony was no less the cause of the civil war in Rome, than Helen had been of the Trojan war †. There is, however, but little truth in this assertion. Cæsar was not so much a slave to the impulse of resentment, as to enter on so desperate a measure, if it had not been premeditated. Nor would he have carried war into the bowels of his country, merely because he saw Antony and Cassius flying to him in a mean dress and a hired carriage. At the same time, these things might give some colour to the commencement of those hostilities which had been long determined. Cæsar's motive was the same which had before driven Alexander and Cyrus over the ruins of humankind, the insatiable lust of empire, the frantic ambition of being

* Cicero asserts, that Antony was the immediate cause of the civil war; but if he could have laid down his prejudice, he might have discovered a more immediate cause in the impolitic resentment of Cato.

† In the second Philippic. *Ut Helena Trojanis, sic iste huic reipublicæ causa belli; causa pestis atque exitii fuit.*

being the firſt man upon earth, which he knew he could not be, while Pompey was yet alive.

As ſoon as he was arrived at Rome, and had driven Pompey out of Italy, his firſt deſign was to attack his legions in Spain, and having a fleet in readineſs, to go afterwards in purſuit of Pompey himſelf, while, in the mean time, Rome was left to the government of Lepidus the prætor, and Italy and the army to the command of Antony the tribune. Antony, by the ſociability of his diſpoſition, ſoon made himſelf agreeable to the ſoldiers. For he eat and drank with them, and made them preſents to the utmoſt of his ability. To others, his conduct was leſs acceptable. He was too indolent to attend to the cauſe of the injured, too violent and too impatient when he was applied to on buſineſs, and infamous for his adulteries. In ſhort, though there was nothing tyrannical in the government of Cæſar, it was rendered odious by the ill conduct of his friends; and as Antony had the greateſt ſhare of the power, ſo he bore the greateſt part of the blame. Cæſar, notwithſtanding, on his return from Spain, connived at his irregularities; and, indeed, in the military appointment he had given him, he had not judged improperly; for Antony was a brave, ſkilful, and active general.

Cæſar embarked at Brunduſium, ſailed over the Ionian ſea with a ſmall number of troops, and ſent back the fleet, with orders that Antony and Gabinius ſhould put the army on board, and proceed as faſt as poſſible to Macedonia. Gabinius was afraid of the ſea, for it was winter, and the paſſage was dangerous. He, therefore, marched his forces a long way round by land. Antony, on the other hand, being apprehenſive that Cæſar might be ſurrounded and overcome by his enemies, beat off Libo, who lay at anchor in the mouth of the haven of Brunduſium. By ſending out ſeveral ſmall veſſels, he encompaſſed Libo's galleys ſeparately, and obliged them to retire. By this means he found an opportunity to embark about twenty thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe; and with theſe he ſet ſail. The enemy diſcovered and made up to him; but he eſcaped by favour of a ſtrong gale from the ſouth, which made the ſea ſo rough that the purſuers could not reach him. The ſame wind, however, at firſt drove him upon a rocky ſhore, on which the ſea bore ſo hard, that there appeared no hope of eſcaping ſhipwreck: But after a little, it turned

turned to the ſouth-weſt, and blowing from land to the main ſea, Antony ſailed in ſafety, with the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the wrecks of the enemy's fleet ſcattered along the coaſt. The ſtorm had driven their ſhips upon the rocks, and many of them went to pieces. Antony made his advantage of this diſaſter; for he took ſeveral priſoners, and a conſiderable booty. He likewiſe made himſelf maſter of the town of Liſſus; and, by the ſeaſonable arrival of his reinforcement, the affairs of Cæſar wore a more promiſing aſpect.

Antony diſtinguiſhed himſelf in every battle that was fought. Twice he ſtopped the army in its flight, brought them back to the charge, and gained the victory; ſo that, in point of military reputation, he was inferior only to Cæſar. What opinion Cæſar had of his abilities appeared in the laſt deciſive battle at Pharſalia. He led the right wing himſelf, and gave the left to Antony, as to the ableſt of his officers. After this battle, Cæſar being appointed dictator, went in purſuit of Pompey, and ſent Antony to Rome in character of general of the horſe. This officer is next in power to the dictator, and in his abſence he commands alone. For, after the election of a dictator, all other magiſtrates, the tribunes only excepted, are diveſted of their authority.

Dolabella, one of the tribunes, a young man who was fond of innovations, propoſed a law for aboliſhing debts, and ſolicited his friend Antony, who was ever ready to gratify the people, to join him in this meaſure. On the other hand, Aſinius and Trebellius diſſuaded him from it. Antony happened, at this time, to ſuſpect a criminal connection between Dolabella and his wife, whom, on that account, he diſmiſſed, though ſhe was his firſt couſin, and daughter to Caius Antonius, who had been colleague with Cicero. In conſequence of this, he joined Aſinius, and oppoſed Dolabella. The latter had taken poſſeſſion of the *forum*, with a deſign to paſs his law by force; and Antony being ordered by the ſenate to repel force with force, attacked him, killed ſeveral of his men, and loſt ſome of his own.

By this action he forfeited the favour of the people: But this was not the only thing that rendered him obnoxious; for men of ſenſe and virtue, as Cicero obſerves, could not but condemn his nocturnal revels, his enormous extravagance, his ſcandalous lewdneſs, his ſleeping in the

 day,

day, his walks to carry off the qualms of debauchery, and his entertainments on the marriages of players and buffoons. It is ſaid, that after drinking all night at the wedding of Hippias the player, he was ſummoned in the morning upon buſineſs to the *forum*, when, through a little too much repletion, he was unfortunate enough, in the preſence of the people, to return part of his evening fare by the way it had entered; and one of his friends received it in his gown. Sergius the player had the greateſt intereſt with him: And Cytheris *, a lady of the ſame profeſſion, had the management of his heart. She attended him in his excurſions; and her equipage was by no means inferior to his mother's. The people were offended at the pomp of his travelling plate, which was more fit for the ornament of a triumph; at his erecting tents on the road, by groves and rivers, for the moſt luxurious dinners; at his chariots drawn by lions; and at his lodging his ladies of pleaſure, and female muſicians, in the houſes of modeſt and ſober people. This diſſatisfaction at the conduct of Antony could not but be increaſed by the comparative view of Cæſar. While the latter was ſupporting the fatigues of a military life, the former was indulging himſelf in all the diſſipation of luxury; and, by means of his delegated power, inſulting the citizens.

This conduct occaſioned a variety of diſturbances in Rome, and gave the ſoldiers an opportunity to abuſe and plunder the people. Therefore, when Cæſar returned to Rome, he pardoned Dolabella; and being created conſul the third time, he took Lepidus, and not Antony, for his colleague. Antony purchaſed Pompey's houſe; but, when he was required to make the payment, he expreſſed himſelf in very angry terms; and this he tells us, was the reaſon why he would not go with Cæſar into Africa. His former ſervices he thought inſufficiently repaid. Cæſar, however, by his diſapprobation of Antony's conduct, ſeems to have thrown ſome reſtraint on his diſſolute manner of life. He now took it into his head to marry, and made choice of Fulvia, the widow of the ſeditious Clodius, a woman by no means adapted to domeſtic employments, nor even contented with ruling her huſband as a private man. Fulvia's ambition was to govern thoſe that governed, and to command the leaders of armies. It was to Fulvia, therefore, that

* Cic. Ep. ad Att. l. x. ep. 10.

that Cleopatra was obliged for teaching Antony due ſubmiſſion to female authority. He had gone through ſuch a courſe of diſcipline, as made him perfectly tractable when he came into her hands.

He endeavoured, however, to amuſe the violent ſpirit of Fulvia by many whimſical and pleaſant follies. When Cæſar, after his ſucceſs in Spain, was on his return to Rome, Antony, amongſt others, went to meet him; but a report prevailing that Cæſar was killed, and that the enemy was marching into Italy, he returned immediately to Rome, and, in the diſguiſe of a ſlave, went to his houſe by night, pretending that he had letters from Antony to Fulvia. He was introduced to her with his head muffled up; and, before ſhe received the letter, ſhe aſked, with impatience, if Antony were well. He preſented the letter to her in ſilence; and, while ſhe was opening it, he threw his arms around her neck, and kiſſed her. We mention this as one inſtance, out of many, of his pleaſantries.

When Cæſar returned from Spain, moſt of the principal citizens went ſome days journey to meet him; but Antony met with the moſt diſtinguiſhed reception, and had the honour to ride with Cæſar in the ſame chariot. After them came Brutus Albinus, and Octavius, the ſon of Cæſar's niece, who was afterwards called Auguſtus Cæſar, and for many years was emperor of Rome. Cæſar being created conſul for the fifth time, choſe Antony for his colleague; but as he intended to quit the conſulſhip in favour of Dolabella, he acquainted the ſenate with his reſolution. Antony, notwithſtanding, oppoſed this meaſure, and loaded Dolabella with the moſt flagrant reproaches. Dolabella did not fail to return the abuſe; and Cæſar, offended at their indecent behaviour, put off the affair till another time. When it was again propoſed, Antony inſiſted that the omens from the flight of birds were againſt the meaſure*. Thus Cæſar was obliged to give up Dolabella, who was not a little mortified by his diſappointment. It appears, however, that Cæſar had as little regard for Dolabella as he had for Antony: For when both were accuſed of deſigns againſt him, he ſaid, contemptuouſly enough, "It is not "theſe fat ſleek fellows I am afraid of, but the pale and "the lean." By whom he meant Brutus and Caſſius, who afterwards put him to death. Antony, without intending

 it,

* He had this power by virtue of his office as augur.

it, gave them a pretence for that undertaking. When the Romans were celebrating the Lupercalia, Cæſar, in a triumphal habit, ſat on the *roſtrum* to ſee the race. On this occaſion, many of the young nobility, and the magiſtracy, anointed with oil, and having white thongs in their hands, run about and ſtrike, as in ſport, every one they meet. Antony was of the number; but regardleſs of the ceremonies of the inſtitution, he took a garland of laurel, and wreathing it in a diadem, run to the *roſtrum*, where, being lifted up by his companions, he would have placed it on the head of Cæſar, intimating thereby, the conveyance of regal power. Cæſar, however, ſeemed to decline the offer, and was therefore applauded by the people. Antony perſiſted in his deſign; and for ſome time there was a conteſt between them, while he that offered the diadem had the applauſe of his friends, and he that refuſed it the acclamations of the multitude. Thus, what is ſingular enough, while the Romans endured every thing that regal power could impoſe, they dreaded the name of king as deſtructive of their liberty. Cæſar was much concerned at this tranſaction; and, uncovering his neck, he offered his life to any one that would take it. At length the diadem was placed on one of his ſtatues, but the tribunes took it off *; upon which the people followed them home with great acclamations. Afterwards, however, Cæſar ſhewed that he reſented this, by turning thoſe tribunes out of office. The enterprize of Brutus and Caſſius derived ſtrength and encouragement from theſe circumſtances. To the reſt of their friends, whom they had ſelected for the purpoſe, they wanted to draw over Antony. Trebonius only objected to him. He informed them, that, in their journey to meet Cæſar, he had been generally with him; that he had ſounded him on this buſineſs by hints, which, though cautious, were intelligible; and that he always expreſſed his diſapprobation, though he never betrayed the ſecret. Upon this, it was propoſed that Antony ſhould fall at the ſame time with Cæſar; but Brutus oppoſed it. An action, undertaken in ſupport of juſtice and the laws, he very properly thought, ſhould have nothing unjuſt attending it. Of Antony, however, they were afraid, both in reſpect of his perſonal valour,

* *Tribuni plebis, Epidius Marcellus, cæſetiuſque Flavus coronæ faſciam detrahi, hominemque duci in vincula juſſiſſent, dolens ſeu parum proſperè motam regni mentionem: ſive, ut ferebat, ereptam ſibi gloriam recuſandi, tribunos graviter increpitos poteſtate privavit.* SUET.

valour, and the influence of his office; and it was agreed, that, when Cæſar was in the houſe, and they were on the point of executing their purpoſe, Antony ſhoud be amuſed without by ſome pretended diſcourſe of buſineſs.

When, in conſequence of theſe meaſures, Cæſar was ſlain, Antony abſconded in the diſguiſe of a ſlave; but after he found that the conſpirators were aſſembled in the capitol, and had no further deſigns of maſſacre, he invited them to come down, and ſent his ſon to them as an hoſtage. That night Caſſius ſupped with him, and Brutus with Lepidus. The day following he aſſembled the ſenate, when he propoſed that an act of amneſty ſhould be paſſed; and that provinces ſhould be aſſigned to Brutus and Caſſius. The ſenate confirmed this, and, at the ſame time, ratified the acts of Cæſar. Thus Antony acquitted himſelf in this difficult affair with the higheſt reputation; and, by ſaving Rome from a civil war, he proved himſelf a very able and valuable politician. But the intoxication of glory drew him off from theſe wiſe and moderate counſels; and, from his influence with the people, he felt that, if Brutus were borne down, he ſhould be the firſt man in Rome. With this view, when Cæſar's body was expoſed in the *forum*, he undertook the cuſtomary funeral oration; and when he found the people affected with his encomiums on the deceaſed, he endeavoured ſtill more to excite their compaſſion, by all that was pitiable or aggravating in the maſſacre. For this purpoſe, in the cloſe of his oration, he took the robe from the dead body, and held it up to them, bloody as it was, and pierced through with weapons; nor did he heſitate, at the ſame time, to call the perpetrators of the deed villains and murderers This had ſuch an effect upon the people, that they immediately tore up the benches and the tables in the *forum*, to make a pile for the body. After they had duly diſcharged the funeral rites, they ſnatched the burning brands from the pile, and went to attack the houſes of the conſpirators.

Brutus and his party now left the city, and Cæſar's friends joined Antony. Calphurnia, the relict of Cæſar, entruſted him with her treaſure, which amounted to four thouſand talents. All Cæſar's papers, which contained a particular account of his deſigns, were likewiſe delivered up to him. Of theſe he made a very ingenious uſe; for, by inſerting in them what names he thought proper, he made ſome of his friends magiſtrates, and others ſenators; ſome

he recalled from exile, and others he diſmiſſed from priſon, on pretence that all theſe things were ſo ordered by Cæſar. The people that were thus favoured, the Romans called *Charonites* *; becauſe, to ſupport their title, they had recourſe to the regiſters of the dead. The power of Antony, in ſhort, was abſolute. He was conſul himſelf: his brother Caius was prætor, and his brother Lucius tribune of the people.

Such was the ſtate of affairs, when Octavius, who was the ſon of Cæſar's niece, and appointed his heir by will, arrived at Rome from Apollonia, where he reſided when his uncle was killed. He firſt viſited Antony as the friend of his uncle, and ſpoke to him concerning the money in his hands, and the legacy of ſeventy-five drachmas left to every Roman citizen. Antony paid little regard to him at firſt; and told him, it would be madneſs for an unexperienced young man, without friends, to take upon him ſo important an office as that of being executor to Cæſar.

Octavius, however, was not thus repulſed. He ſtill inſiſted on the money; and Antony, on the other hand, did every thing to mortify and affront him. He oppoſed him in his application for the tribuneſhip; and when he made uſe of the golden chair, which had been granted by the ſenate to his uncle †, he threatened that, unleſs he deſiſted to ſolicit the people, he would commit him to priſon. But when Octavius joined Cicero, and the reſt of Antony's enemies, and by their means obtained an intereſt in the ſenate; when he continued to pay his court to the people, and drew the veteran ſoldiers from their quarters, Antony thought it was time to accommodate; and for this purpoſe gave him a meeting in the capitol.

An accommodation took place, but it was ſoon deſtroyed; for that night, Antony dreamed that his right hand was thunderſtruck; and, a few days after, he was informed that Octavius had a deſign on his life. The latter would have juſtified himſelf, but was not believed; ſo that, of courſe, the breach became as wide as ever. They now went immediately over Italy, and endeavoured to be beforehand with each other, in ſecuring, by rewards and promiſes, the

* The ſlaves who were enfranchiſed by the laſt will of their maſters, were likewiſe called *Charonites*.

† The ſenate had decreed to Cæſar the privilege of uſing a golden chair, adorned with a crown of gold and precious ſtones, in all the theatres. Dion, l. xliv.

the old troops that were in different quarters, and ſuch legions as were ſtill on foot.

Cicero, who had then conſiderable influence in the city, incenſed the people againſt Antony, and prevailed on the ſenate to declare him a public enemy; to ſend the rods and the reſt of the prætorial enſigns to young Cæſar, and to commiſſion Hirtius and Panſa, the conſuls, to drive Antony out of Italy. The two armies engaged near Modena; and Cæſar was preſent at the battle. Both the conſuls were ſlain; but Antony was defeated. In his flight he was reduced to great extremities, particularly by famine. Diſtreſs, however, was to him a ſchool of moral improvement; and Antony, in adverſity, was almoſt a man of virtue. Indeed, it is common for men under misfortunes, to have a clear idea of their duty; but a change of conduct is not always the conſequence. On ſuch occaſions, they too often fall back into their former manners, through the inactivity of reaſon, and infirmity of mind. But Antony was even a pattern for his ſoldiers. From all the varieties of luxurious living, he came with readineſs to drink a little ſtinking water, and to feed on the wild fruits and roots of the deſert. Nay, it is ſaid, that they eat the very bark of the trees; and that, in paſſing the Alps, they fed on creatures that had never been accounted human food.

Antony's deſign was to join Lepidus, who commanded the army on the other ſide of the Alps; and he had a reaſonable proſpect of his friendſhip from the good offices he had done him with Julius Cæſar. When he came within a ſmall diſtance of him he encamped; but receiving no encouragement, he reſolved to hazard all upon a ſingle caſt. His hair was uncombed, and his beard, which he had not ſhaven ſince his defeat, was long. In this forlorn figure, with a mourning mantle thrown over him, he came to the camp of Lepidus, and addreſſed himſelf to the ſoldiers. While ſome were affected with his appearance, and others with his eloquence, Lepidus, afraid of the conſequence, ordered the trumpets to ſound, that he might no longer be heard. This, however, contributed to heighten the compaſſion of the ſoldiers; ſo that they ſent Lælius and Clodius in the dreſs of thoſe ladies who hired out their favours to the army, to aſſure Antony, that, if he had reſolution enough to attack the camp of Lepidus, he would meet with many who were not only ready to receive him, but, if he ſhould deſire it, to kill Lepidus. Antony would not

ſuffer any violence to be offered to Lepidus; but the day following, at the head of his troops, he croſſed the river which lay between the two camps, and had the ſatisfaction to ſee Lepidus's ſoldiers all the while ſtretching out their hands to him, and making way through the entrenchments.

When he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the camp of Lepidus, he treated him with great humanity. He ſaluted him by the name of father; and though, in reality, every thing was in his own power, he ſecured to him the title and the honours of general. This conduct brought over Munatius Plancus, who was at the head of a conſiderable force at no great diſtance. Thus Antony was once more very powerful, and returned into Italy with ſeventeen entire legions of foot, and ten thouſand horſe. Beſide theſe, he left ſix legions as a garriſon in Gaul, under the command of Varius, one of his convivial companions, whom they called *Cotylon**.

Octavius, when he found that Cicero's object was to reſtore the liberties of the commonwealth, ſoon abandoned him, and came to an accommodation with Antony. They met, together with Lepidus, in a ſmall river-iſland †, where the conference laſted three days. The empire of the world was divided amongſt them like a paternal inheritance; and this they found no difficulty in ſettling. But whom they ſhould kill, and whom they ſhould ſpare, it was not ſo eaſy to adjuſt, while each was for ſaving his reſpective friends, and putting to death his enemies. At length their reſentment againſt the latter overcame their kindneſs for the former. Octavius gave up Cicero to Antony; and Antony ſacrificed his uncle Lucius Cæſar to Octavius; while Lepidus had the privilege of putting to death his own brother Paulus. Though others ſay, that Lepidus gave up Paulus to them ‡, though they had required him to put him to death himſelf. I believe there never was any thing ſo atrocious, or ſo execrably ſavage as this commerce of murder. For while a friend was given up for an enemy received, the ſame action murdered at once the friend and the enemy; and the deſtruction of the former was ſtill more

* From a half pint bumper; a Greek meaſure ſo called.

† In the Rhine, not far from Bologna.

‡ The former Engliſh tranſlator ought not to have omitted this; becauſe it ſomewhat ſoftens at leaſt the character of Lepidus, who was certainly the leaſt execrable villain of the three.

more horrible, becaufe it had not even refentment for its apology.

When this confederacy had taken place, the army defired it might be confirmed by fome alliance; and Cæfar, therefore, was to marry Claudia the daughter of Fulvia, Antony's wife. As foon as this was determined, they marked down uch as they intended to put to death; the number of which amounted to three hundred. When Cicero was flain, Antony ordered his head, and the hand with which he wrote his Philippics, to be cut off; and when they were prefented to him, he laughed, and exulted at the fight. After he was fatiated with looking upon them, he ordered them to be placed on the *roftra* in the *forum*. But this infult on the dead was, in fact, an abufe of his own good fortune, and of the power it had placed in his hands *. When his uncle Lucius Cæfar was purfued by his murderers, he fled for refuge to his fifter; and when the purfuers had broken into the houfe, and were forcing their way into his chamber, fhe placed herfelf at the door, and, ftretching forth her hands, fhe cried, "You fhall "not kill Lucius Cæfar, till you have firft killed me, "the mother of your general." By this means fhe faved her brother.

This triumvirate was very odious to the Romans; but Antony bore the greater blame; for he was not only older than Cæfar, and more powerful than Lepidus; but when he was no longer under difficulties, he fell back into the former irregularities of his life. His abandoned and diffolute manners were the more obnoxious to the people by his living in the houfe of Pompey the Great, a man no lefs diftinguifhed by his temperance and modefty than by the honour of three triumphs. They were mortified to fee thofe doors fhut with infolence againft magiftrates, generals, and ambaffadors; while they were open to players, jugglers, and fottifh fycophants, on whom he fpent the greateft part of thofe treafures he had amaffed by rapine. Indeed, the triumvirate were by no means fcrupulous about the manner in which they procured their wealth. They feized and fold the eftates of thofe who had been profcribed, and, by falfe accufations, defrauded their widows and orphans. They burdened



* Were there any circumftance in Antony's life that could be efteemed an inftance of true magnanimity, the total want of that virtue in this cafe would prove that fuch a circumftance was merely accidental.

burdened the people with insupportable impositions; and, being informed that large sums of money, the property both of strangers and citizens, were deposited in the hands of the vestals, they took them away by violence. When Cæsar found that Antony's covetousness was as boundless as his prodigality, he demanded a division of the treasure. The army too was divided. Antony and Cæsar went into Macedonia against Brutus and Cassius; and the government of Rome was left to Lepidus.

When they had encamped in sight of the enemy, Antony opposite to Cassius, and Cæsar to Brutus, Cæsar effected nothing extraordinary, but Antony's efforts were still successful. In the first engagement Cæsar was defeated by Brutus; his camp was taken; and he narrowly escaped by flight; though, in his Commentaries, he tells us, that, on account of a dream which happened to one of his friends, he had withdrawn before the battle *. Cassius was defeated by Antony; and yet there are those, too, who say, that Antony was not present at the battle, but only joined in the pursuit afterwards. As Cassius knew nothing of the success of Brutus, he was killed at his own earnest entreaty, by his freedman Pindarus. Another battle was fought soon after, in which Brutus was defeated; and, in consequence of that slew himself. Cæsar happened, at that time, to be sick, and the honour of this victory, likewise, of course, fell to Antony. As he stood over the body of Brutus, he slightly reproached him for the death of his brother Caius, whom, in revenge for the death of Cicero, Brutus had slain in Macedonia. It appeared, however, that Antony did not impute the death of Caius so much to Brutus as to Hortensius; for he ordered the latter to be slain upon his brother's tomb. He threw his purple robe over the body of Brutus, and ordered one of his freedmen to do the honours of his funeral. When he was afterwards informed, that he had not burned the robe with the body, and that he had retained part of the money which was to be expended on the ceremony, he commanded him to be slain. After this victory, Cæsar was conveyed to Rome; and it was expected that his distemper would put an end to his life. Antony having traversed some of the provinces of Asia for the purpose of raising money, passed with a large army into Greece. Contributions, indeed, were absolutely necessary, when

* See the life of Brutus.

when a gratuity of five thousand drachmas had been promised to every private man.

Antony's behaviour was at first very acceptable to the Grecians. He attended the disputes of their logicians, their public diversions, and religious ceremonies. He was mild in the administration of justice, and affected to be called the friend of Greece; but particularly the friend of Athens, to which he made considerable presents. The Megarensians vying with the Athenians in exhibiting something curious, invited him to see their senate-house; and when they asked him how he liked it, he told them, it was *little* and *ruinous*. He took the dimensions of the temple of Apollo Pythius, as if he had intended to repair it; and, indeed, he promised as much to the senate.

But when, leaving Lucius Censorinus in Greece, he once more passed into Asia; when he had enriched himself with the wealth of the country; when his house was the resort of obsequious kings, and queens contended for his favour by their beauty and munificence; then, whilst Cæsar was harrassed with seditions at Rome, Antony once more gave up his soul to luxury, and fell into all the dissipations of his former life. The Anaxenores and the Zuthi, the harpers and pipers, Metrodorus the dancer, the whole corps of the Asiatic drama, who far outdid in buffoonery, the poor wretches of Italy; these were the people of the court, the folks that carried all before them. In short, all was riot and disorder. And Asia, in some measure, resembled the city mentioned by Sophocles *, that was at once filled with the perfumes of sacrifices, songs, and groans.

When Antony entered Ephesus, the women in the dress of Bacchanals, and men and boys habited like Pan and the satyrs, marched before him. Nothing was to be seen through the whole city but ivy-crowns, and spears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes, and pipes, while Antony was hailed by the name of Bacchus.———

———"Bacchus! ever kind, and free!"

And such, indeed, he was to some; but to others he was savage and severe. He deprived many noble families of their fortunes, and bestowed them on sycophants and parasites. Many were represented to be dead, who were still living; and commissions were given to his knaves for seizing

* Sophocles, Oed. Sc. 1.

ſeizing their eſtates. He gave his cook the eſtate of a Magneſian citizen for dreſſing one ſupper to his taſte: But when he laid a double impoſt on Aſia, Hybrias, the agent for the people, told him, with a pleaſantry, that was agreeable to his humour, that, "If he doubled the taxes, he "ought to double the ſeaſons too, and ſupply the people "with two ſummers and two winters." He added, at the ſame time, with a little more aſperity, that, "As Aſia had "already raiſed two hundred thouſand talents, if he had "not received it, he ſhould demand it of thoſe who had; "but," ſaid he, "if you received it, and yet have it not, "we are undone." This touched him ſenſibly; for he was ignorant of many things that were tranſacted under his authority; not that he was indolent, but unſuſpecting. He had a ſimplicity in his nature, without much penetration. But when he found that faults had been committed, he expreſſed the greateſt concern and acknowledgment to the ſufferers. He was prodigal in his rewards, and ſevere in his puniſhments; but the exceſs was rather in the former than in the latter. The inſulting raillery of his converſation carried its remedy along with it; for he was perfectly liberal in allowing the retort, and gave and took with the ſame good humour. This, however, had a bad effect on his affairs. He imagined that thoſe who treated him with freedom in converſation, would not be inſincere in buſineſs. He did not perceive that his ſycophants were artful in their freedom; that they uſed it as a kind of poignant ſauce to prevent the ſatiety of flattery; and that, by taking theſe liberties with him at table, they knew well that, when they complied with his opinions in buſineſs, he would not think it the effect of complaiſance, but a conviction of his ſuperior judgment.

Such was the frail, the flexible Antony, when the love of Cleopatra came in to the completion of his ruin. This awakened every dormant vice, inflamed every guilty paſſion, and totally extinguiſhed the gleams of remaining virtue. It began in this manner. When he firſt ſet out on his expedition againſt the Parthians, he ſent orders to Cleopatra to meet him in Cilicia, that ſhe might anſwer ſome accuſations which had been laid againſt her of aſſiſting Caſſius in the war. Dellius, who went on this meſſage, no ſooner obſerved the beauty and addreſs of Cleopatra, than he concluded that ſuch a woman, far from having any thing to apprehend from the reſentment of Antony, would certainly

have great influence over him. He therefore paid his court to the amiable Egyptian, and ſolicited her to go, as Homer ſays, "In her beſt attire *," into Cilicia; aſſuring her, that ſhe had nothing to fear from Antony, who was the moſt courtly general in the world. Induced by his invitation, and in the confidence of that beauty which had before touched the hearts of Cæſar and young Pompey, ſhe entertained no doubt of the conqueſt of Antony. When Cæſar and Pompey had her favours, ſhe was young and unexperienced; but ſhe was to meet Antony at an age when beauty, in its full perfection, called in the maturity of the underſtanding to its aid. Prepared, therefore, with ſuch treaſures, ornaments, and preſents, as were ſuitable to the dignity and affluence of her kingdom, but chiefly relying on her perſonal charms, ſhe ſet off for Cilicia.

Though ſhe had received many preſſing letters of invitation from Antony and his friends, ſhe held him in ſuch contempt, that ſhe by no means took the moſt expeditious method of travelling. She ſailed along the river Cydnus in a moſt magnificent galley. The ſtern was covered with gold, the ſails were of purple, and the oars were ſilver. Theſe, in their motion, kept time to the muſic of flutes, and pipes, and harps. The queen, in the dreſs and character of Venus, lay under a canopy embroidered with gold, of the moſt exquiſite workmanſhip; while boys, like painted Cupids, ſtood fanning her on each ſide of the ſopha. Her maids were of the moſt diſtinguiſhed beauty, and, habited like the Nereides and the Graces, aſſiſted in the ſteerage and conduct of the veſſel. The fragrance of burning incenſe was diffuſed along the ſhores, which were covered with multitudes of people. Some followed the proceſſion, and ſuch numbers went down from the city to ſee it, that Antony was at laſt left alone on the tribunal. A rumour was ſoon ſpread, that Venus was come to feaſt with Bacchus, for the benefit of Aſia. Antony ſent to invite her to ſupper; but ſhe thought it his duty to wait upon her, and to ſhew his politeneſs on her arrival, he complied. He was aſtoniſhed at the magnificence of the preparations; but particularly at that multitude of lights, which were raiſed or let down together, and diſpoſed in ſuch a variety of ſquare and circular figures, that they afforded one of the moſt

* Hom. Il. l. xiv. 162. It is thus that Juno propoſes to meet Jupiter, when ſhe has a particular deſign of inſpiring him with love.

most pleasing spectacles that has been recorded in history. The day following Antony invited her to sup with him, and was ambitious to outdo her in the elegance and magnificence of the entertainment. But he was soon convinced that he came short of her in both, and was the first to ridicule the meanness and vulgarity of his treat. As she found that Antony's humour savoured more of the camp than of the court, she fell into the same coarse vein, and played upon him without the least reserve. Such was the variety of her powers in conversation: Her beauty, it is said, was neither astonishing nor inimitable; but it derived a force from her wit, and her fascinating manner, which was absolutely irresistible. Her voice was delightfully melodious, and had the same variety of modulation, as an instrument of many strings. She spoke most languages; and there were but few of the foreign ambassadors whom she answered by an interpreter. She gave audience herself to the Ethiopians, the Troglodites, the Hebrews, Arabs, Syrians, Medes, and Parthians. Nor were these all the languages she understood, though the kings of Egypt, her predecessors, could hardly ever attain to the Egyptian; and some of them forgot even their original Macedonian.

Antony was so wholly engrossed with her charms, that while his wife Fulvia was maintaining his interest at Rome against Cæsar, and the Parthian forces, assembled under the conduct of Labienus in Mesopotamia, were ready to enter Syria, she led her amorous captive in triumph to Alexandria. There the veteran warrior fell into every idle excess of puerile amusement, and offered at *the shrine of luxury*, what Antipho calls the greatest of all sacrifices, *the sacrifice of time*. This mode of life, they called *the inimitable*. They visited each other alternately every day; and the profusion of their entertainments is almost incredible. Philotas, a physician of Amphissa, who was at that time pursuing his studies in Alexandria, told my grandfather Lamprias, that, being acquainted with one of Antony's cooks, he was invited to see the preparations for supper. When he came into the kitchen, beside an infinite variety of other provisions, he observed eight wild boars roasting whole; and expressed his surprise at the number of the company for whom this enormous provision must have been made. The cook laughed, and said, that the company did not exceed twelve; but that, as every dish was to be roasted to a single turn; and as Antony was uncertain as to the time

time when he would ſup, particularly if an extraordinary bottle, or an extraordinary vein of converſation was going round, it was neceſſary to have a ſucceſſion of ſuppers. Philotas added, that, being afterwards in the ſervice of Antony's eldeſt ſon by Fulvia, he was admitted to ſup with him, when he did not ſup with his father; and it once happened, that, when another phyſician at table had tired the company with his noiſe and impertinence, he ſilenced him with the following ſophiſm: *There are ſome degrees of a fever in which cold water is good for a man: Every man, who has a fever, has it in ſome degree; and, therefore, cold water is good for every man in a fever.* The impertinent was ſtruck dumb with this ſyllogiſm; and Antony's ſon, who laughed at his diſtreſs, to reward Philotas for his good offices, pointing to a magnificent ſide-board of plate, ſaid, "All that, Philotas, is yours!" Philotas acknowledged the kind offer; but thought it too much for ſuch a boy to give. And, afterwards, when a ſervant brought the plate to him in a cheſt, that he might put his ſeal upon it, he refuſed, and, indeed, was afraid to accept it: Upon which the ſervant ſaid, "What are you afraid of? Do not you "conſider that this is a preſent from the ſon of Antony, "who could eaſily give you its weight in gold? However, "I would recommend it to you to take the value of it in "money. In this plate there may be ſome curious pieces "of ancient workmanſhip that Antony may ſet a value "on." Such are the anecdotes which my grandfather told me he had from Philotas.

Cleopatra was not limited to Plato's four kinds of flattery *. She had an infinite variety of it. Whether Antony were in the gay, or the ſerious humour, ſtill ſhe had ſomething ready for his amuſement. She was with him night and day. She gamed, ſhe drank, ſhe hunted, ſhe reviewed with him. In his night-rambles, when he was reconnoitring the doors and windows of the citizens, and throwing out his jeſts upon them, ſhe attended him in the habit of a ſervant, which he alſo, on ſuch occaſions, affected to wear. From theſe expeditions, he frequently returned a ſufferer both in perſon and character. But though ſome of the Alexandrians were diſpleaſed with this whimſical humour, others enjoyed it, and ſaid, "That Antony pre- "ſented his comic parts in Alexandria, and reſerved the "tragic

* Plato, Gorgias.

"tragic for Rome." To mention all his follies would be too trifling; but his fishing story must not be omitted. He was a fishing one day with Cleopatra, and had ill success, which, in the presence of his mistress, he looked upon as a disgrace; he, therefore, ordered one of the assistants to dive and put on his hook such as had been taken before. This scheme he put in practice three or four times, and Cleopatra perceived it. She affected, however, to be surprised at his success; expressed her wonder to the people about her; and, the day following, invited them to see fresh proofs of it. When the day following came, the vessel was crowded with people; and as soon as Antony had let down his line, she ordered one of her divers immediately to put a salt fish on his hook. When Antony found he had caught his fish, he drew up his line; and this, as may be supposed, occasioned no small mirth amongst the spectators. "Go, general!" said Cleopatra, "leave fishing to us petty princes of Pharus and Canopus; your game is cities, kingdoms, and provinces *."

In the midst of these scenes of festivity and dissipation, Antony received two unfavourable messages; one from Rome, that his wife Fulvia, and his brother Lucius, after long dissentions between themselves, had joined to oppose Cæsar, but were overpowered, and obliged to fly out of Italy. The other informed him, that Labienus and the Parthians had reduced Asia, from Syria and the Euphrates to Lydia and Ionia. It was with difficulty that even this roused him from his lethargy: But waking at length, and, literally, waking from a fit of intoxication, he set out against the Parthians, and proceeded as far as Phœnicia. However, upon the receipt of some very moving letters from Fulvia, he turned his course towards Italy, with two hundred ships. Such of his friends as had fled from thence, he received; and from these he learnt, that Fulvia had been the principal cause of the disturbances in Rome. Her disposition had a natural tendency to violence and discord; and, on this occasion, it was abetted by jealousy; for she expected that the disorders of Italy would call

* This expression of Cleopatra's has something of the same turn with that passage in Virgil———

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra!
Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento.

call Antony from the arms of Cleopatra. That unhappy woman died at Sycion, in her progreſs to meet her huſband.

This event opened an opportunity for a reconciliation with Cæſar. For when Antony came to Italy, and Cæſar expreſſed no reſentment againſt him, but threw the whole blame on Fulvia; their reſpective friends interfered, and brought them to an accommodation. The eaſt, within the boundaries of the Ionian ſea, was given to Antony; the weſtern provinces to Cæſar; and Lepidus had Africa. When they did not accept of the conſulſhip themſelves, they were to diſpoſe of it as they thought proper, in their turns.

After theſe matters were ſettled, they thought of means to ſecure this union which fortune had ſet on foot. Cæſar had a ſiſter older than himſelf named Octavia, but they had different mothers. The mother of Octavia was Ancaria. Cæſar's mother was Attia. He had a great affection for this ſiſter; for ſhe was a woman of extraordinary merit. She had been already married to Caius Marcellus; but a little before this had buried her huſband; and, as Antony had loſt his wife, there was an opening for a freſh union. His connection with Cleopatra he did not affect to deny; but he abſolutely denied that he was married to her; and, in this circumſtance, indeed, his prudence prevailed over his love. His marriage with Octavia was univerſally wiſhed. It was the general hope, that a woman of her beauty and diſtinguiſhed virtues would acquire ſuch an influence over Antony, as might, in the end, be ſalutary to the ſtate. Conditions being mutually agreed upon, they proceeded to ſolemnize the nuptials at Rome; and the law which permits no widow to marry till the expiration of ten months after the deceaſe of her huſband, was diſpenſed with by the ſenate.

Sextus, the ſon of Pompey, who was then in poſſeſſion of Sicily, had not only made great ravages in Italy, but had covered the ſea with ſuch a number of piratical veſſels, under the command of Menas and Menecrates, that it was no longer ſafe for other ſhips to paſs. He had been favourable, notwithſtanding, to Antony; for he had give a kind reception to his mother and his wife Fulvia, when they were obliged to fly from Rome. It was judged proper, therefore, to accommodate matters with him; and, for this purpoſe, a meeting was held at the promontory of Miſenum by the mole that runs into the ſea. Pompey was attended

by

by his fleet; Antony and Cæsar by an army of foot. At this interview it was settled, that Pompey should keep Sicily and Sardinia, on condition that he should clear the sea of pirates, and send a certain quantity of corn to Rome. When these things were determined, they mutually invited each other to supper; but it fell to the lot of Pompey to give the first entertainment. When Antony, asked him where they should sup: "There," said he, pointing to the admiral-galley of six oars, "that is the "only patrimonial mansion-house that is left to Pompey;" and it implied, at the same time, a sarcasm on Antony, who was then in possession of his father's house. However, he entertained them very politely, after conducting them over a bridge from the promontory to the ship that rode at anchor. During the entertainment, while the raillery ran briskly on Antony and Cleopatra, Menas came to Pompey, and told him secretly, that, if he would permit him to cut the cable, he would not only make him master of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole Roman empire. Pompey, after a moment's deliberation, answered, that he should have done it without consulting him. "We must now let it "alone," said he, "for I cannot break my oath of treaty." The compliment of the entertainment was returned by his guests, and he then retired to Sicily.

Antony, after the accommodation, sent Ventidius into Asia, to stop the progress of the Parthians. All matters of public administration were conducted with the greatest harmony between him and Octavius; and, in compliment to the latter, he took upon himself the office of high-priest to Cæsar the dictator. But, alas! in their contests at play, Cæsar was generally superior, and Antony was mortified. He had in his house a fortune-telling gypsy, who was skilled in the calculation of nativities. This man, either to oblige Cleopatra, or following the investigation of truth, told Antony, that the star of his fortune, however glorious in itself, was eclipsed and obscured by Cæsar's, and advised him, by all means, to keep at the greatest distance from that young man. "The genius of your life," said he, "is "afraid of his: when it is alone, its port is erect and fear-"less; when his approaches, it is dejected and deprest." Indeed, there were many circumstances that seemed to justify the conjurer's doctrine: for in every kind of play, whether they cast lots, or cast the die, Antony was still the loser. In their cock-fights, and quail-fights, it was still Cæsar's cock,

cock, and Cæſar's quail. Theſe things, co-operating with the conjurer's obſervations, had ſuch an effect on Antony, that he gave up the management of his domeſtic affairs to Cæſar, and left Italy. Octavia, who had by this time brought him a daughter, he took with him into Greece. He wintered in Athens, and there he learnt that his affairs in Aſia, under Ventidius, were ſucceſsful; that the Parthians were routed, and that Labienus and Pharnapates, the ableſt generals of Orodes, fell in the battle. In honour of this victory, he gave an entertainment to the Greeks, and treated the Athenians with an exhibition of the gymnaſtic games, in which he took the maſter's part himſelf. The robes and enſigns of the general were laid aſide; the rods, the cloak, and the ſlippers of the Gymnaſiarch were aſſumed; and when the combatants had fought ſufficiently, he parted them himſelf.

When he went to the war, he took with him a crown of the ſacred olive; and, by the direction of ſome oracle or other, a veſſel of water filled out of the Clepſydra *. In the mean time, Pacorus, ſon of the king of Parthia, made an incurſion into Syria, but was routed by Ventidius in Cyrrheſtica, and, with the greateſt part of his army, fell in the battle. This celebrated victory made ample amends for the defeat of Craſſus. The Parthians had now been thrice conquered, and were confined within the bounds of Media and Meſopotamia. Ventidius would not purſue the Parthians any farther, for fear of exciting the envy of Antony; he therefore, turned his arms againſt the revolters, and brought them back to their duty. Amongſt theſe was Antiochus, the king of Commagene, whom he beſieged in the city of Samoſata. That prince, at firſt, offered to pay a thouſand talents, and to ſubmit himſelf to the Roman empire; upon which Ventidius told him, that he muſt ſend propoſals to Antony; for he was then at no great diſtance; and he had not commiſſioned Ventidius to make peace with Antiochus, that ſomething at leaſt might be done by himſelf. But while the ſiege was thus prolonged, and the people of Samoſata deſpaired of obtaining terms, that deſpair produced a degree of courage which defeated every effort of the beſiegers; and Antony was at laſt reduced to the diſgraceful neceſſity of accepting three hundred talents.

After

* The Clepſydra was a fountain belonging to the citadel at Athens; ſo called, becauſe it was ſometimes full of water, and ſometimes empty.

After he had done ſome little towards ſettling the affairs of Syria, he returned to Athens, and ſent Ventidius to Rome, to enjoy the reward of his merit in a triumph. He was the only general that ever triumphed over the Parthians. His birth was obſcure, but his connections with Antony brought him into great appointments; and, by making the beſt uſe of them, he confirmed what was ſaid of Antony and Octavius Cæſar, that they were more ſucceſsful by their lieutenants, than when they commanded in perſon. This obſervation, with regard to Antony in particular, might be juſtified by the ſucceſs of Soſſius and Canidius. The former had done great things in Syria; and the latter, whom he left in Armenia, reduced the whole country; and, after defeating the kings of Iberia and Albania, penetrated as far as Mount Caucaſus, and ſpread the terror of Antony's name and power through thoſe barbarous nations.

Soon after this, upon hearing ſome diſagreeable reports concerning the deſigns or the conduct of Cæſar, he ſailed for Italy with a fleet of three hundred ſhips; and, being refuſed the harbour of Brunduſium, he made for Tarentum. There he was prevailed on by his wife Octavia, who accompanied him, and was then pregnant a third time, to ſend her to her brother; and ſhe was fortunate enough to meet him on her journey, attended by his two friends, Mæcenas and Agrippa. In conference with him, ſhe intreated him to conſider the peculiarity of her ſituation, and not to make the happieſt woman in the world the moſt unfortunate. "The eyes of all," ſaid ſhe, "are neceſſarily "turned on me, who am the wife of Antony, and the "ſiſter of Cæſar; and ſhould theſe chiefs of the empire, "miſled by haſty counſels, involve the whole in war, what- "ever may be the event, it will be unhappy for me." Cæſar was ſoftened by the intreaties of his ſiſter, and proceeded with peaceable views to Tarentum. His arrival afforded a general ſatisfaction to the people. They were pleaſed to ſee ſuch an army on the ſhore, and ſuch a fleet in the harbour, in the mutual diſpoſition for peace; and nothing but compliments and expreſſions of kindneſs paſſing between the generals. Antony firſt invited Cæſar to ſup with him, and, in compliment to Octavia, he accepted the invitation. At length it was agreed, that Cæſar ſhould give up to Antony two legions for the Parthian ſervice; and that Antony, in return, ſhould leave a hundred armed gallies with Cæſar. Octavia, moreover, engaged Antony

to give up twenty light ſhips to Cæſar, and procured from her brother a thouſand foot for her huſband. Matters being thus accommodated, Cæſar went to war with Pompey for the recovery of Sicily; and Antony, leaving under his protection his wife, and his children, both by the preſent and the former marriage, ſailed for Aſia.

Upon his approach to Syria, the love of Cleopatra, which had ſo long been dormant in his heart, and which better counſels ſeemed totally to have ſuppreſt, revived again, and took poſſeſſion of his ſoul. The unruly ſteed, to which Plato * compares certain paſſions, once more broke looſe, and in ſpite of honour, intereſt, and prudence, Antony ſent Fonteius Capito to conduct Cleopatra into Syria.

Upon her arrival, he made her the moſt magnificent preſents. He gave her the provinces of Phœnicia, Cœlo-ſyria, Cyprus, great part of Cilicia, that diſtrict of Judæa which produces the balm, and that part of Arabia Nabathea which lies upon the ocean. Theſe extravagant gifts were diſagreeable to the Romans: For, though he had often conferred on private perſons conſiderable governments and kingdoms; though he had deprived many princes of their dominions, and beheaded Antigonus of Judæa, the firſt king that ever ſuffered in ſuch a manner †; yet nothing ſo much diſturbed the Romans as his enormous profuſion in favour of that woman. Nor were they leſs offended at his giving the ſurnames of the ſun and moon to the twins he had by her.

But Antony knew well how to give a fair appearance to the moſt diſreputable actions. The greatneſs of the Roman empire, he ſaid, appeared more in giving than in receiving kingdoms; and that it was proper for perſons of high birth and ſtation to extend and ſecure their nobility, by leaving children and ſucceſſors born of different princes; that his anceſtor Hercules truſted not to the fertility of one woman, as if he had feared the penalties annexed to the law of Solon;

* Plutarch here alludes to that paſſage in Plato, where he compares the ſoul to a winged chariot with two horſes and a charioteer. One of theſe horſes is miſchievous and unruly: the other gentle and tractable. The charioteer is Reaſon: the unruly horſe denotes the concupiſcent, and the tractable horſe the iraſcible part. PLATO, Phæd.

† Dion tells us that Antigonus was firſt tied to a ſtake and whipped; and that afterwards his throat was cut. Απεσφαξε, and not πελεκιζε, is the word he uſes. Livy ſays, *Deligati ad palum, virgiſque cæſi, et ſecuri percuſſi.*

Solon; but by various connections with the sex, became the founder of many families.

After Orodes was slain by his son Phraates *, who took possession of the kingdom, many of the Parthian chiefs fled to Antony; and amongst the rest, Moneses, a man of great dignity and power. Antony thinking that Moneses, in his fortune, resembled Themistocles, and comparing his own wealth and magnificence, to that of the kings of Persia, gave him three cities, Larissa, Arethusa, and Hierampolis, which was before called Bombyce. But when Phraates sent Moneses assurances of his safety, he readily dismissed him. On this occasion he formed a scheme to deceive Phraates. He pretended a disposition for peace, and required only that the Roman standards and ensigns which had been taken at the defeat of Crassus, and such of the prisoners as still survived, might be restored. He sent Cleopatra into Egypt; after which he marched through Arabia and Armenia, where, as soon as his own troops were joined by the allies, he reviewed his army. He had several princes in alliance with him, but Artavasdes, king of Armenia, was the most powerful; for he furnished six thousand horse, and seven thousand foot. At this review there appeared sixty thousand Roman foot, and ten thousand horse, who, though chiefly Gauls and Spaniards, were reckoned as Romans. The number of the allies, including the light armed and the cavalry, amounted to thirty thousand.

This formidable armament, which struck terror into the Indians beyond Bactria, and alarmed all Asia, his attachment to Cleopatra rendered perfectly useless. His impatience to return and spend the winter in her arms, made him take the field too early in the season, and precipitated all his measures. As a man who is under the power of enchantment, can only act as the impulse of the magic directs him, his eye was continually drawn to Cleopatra, and to return to her was a greater object than to conquer the world. He ought certainly to have wintered in Armenia, that he might give a proper respite and refreshment to his men, after a march of a thousand miles. In the early part of the spring, he should have made himself master of Media, before the Parthian troops were drawn out of garrison: But his impatience put him upon the march, and leaving Armenia

* The same Phraates that Horace mentions. *Redditum Cyri solio Phraatem.* Lib. iii. ode 2.

Armenia on the left, he paſſed through the province of Atropatene, and laid waſte the country. In his haſte, he left behind him the battering engines, amongſt which was a ram eighty feet long, and theſe followed the camp on three hundred carriages. Had any damage happened to theſe, it would have been impoſſible to repair them in this upper part of Aſia, where there is no timber of height or ſtrength ſufficient for the purpoſe. However, they were brought after him under the conduct of Statianus; and, in the mean time, he laid ſiege to the large city of Phraata, the reſidence of the king of Media's wives and children. Here he perceived his error in leaving the engines behind; for want of which he was obliged to throw up a mount againſt the wall; and that required conſiderable time and labour.

In the mean time, Phraates came up with a numerous army; and being informed that Antony had left behind him his machines, he ſent a large detachment to intercept them. This party fell upon Statianus, who, with ten thouſand of his men, was ſlain upon the ſpot. Many were taken priſoners, among whom was king Polemo; and the machines were ſeized by the enemy, and deſtroyed.

This miſcarriage greatly diſcouraged the army; and Artavaſdes, though he had been the promoter of the war, withdrew his forces in deſpair. The Parthians, on the other hand, encouraged by their ſucceſs, came up with the Romans while they were employed in the ſiege, and treated them with the moſt inſolent menaces and contempt. Antony, who knew that deſpair and timidity would be the conſequence of inaction, led out ten legions, three prætorian cohorts heavy armed, and the whole body of cavalry, on the buſineſs of foraging. He was perſuaded, at the ſame time, that this was the only method of drawing the enemy after him, and bringing them to a battle. After one day's progreſs, he obſerved the enemy in motion, and watching an opportunity to fall upon him in his march. Hereupon he put up in his camp the ſignal for battle; but, at the ſame time, ſtruck his tents, as if his intention was not to fight, but to retire. According he paſſed the army of the barbarians, which was drawn up in form of a creſcent: but he had previouſly given orders to the horſe to charge the enemy, full ſpeed, as ſoon as their ranks were within reach of the legionary troops. The Parthians were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the order of the Roman army, when they obſerved

obſerved them paſs at regular intervals without confuſion, and brandiſh their pikes in ſilence.

When the ſignal was given for battle, the horſe turned ſhort, and fell with loud ſhouts on the enemy. The Parthians received the attack with firmneſs, though they were too cloſe in with them for the uſe of their bows. But when the infantry came to the charge, their ſhouts, and the claſhing of their arms, ſo frightened the enemy's horſes, that they were no longer manageable; and the Parthians fled without once engaging. Antony purſued them cloſely, in hopes that this action would, in a great meaſure, terminate the war. But when the infantry had followed them fifty furlongs, and the cavalry at leaſt an hundred and fifty, he found that he had not ſlain above eighty of the enemy, and that thirty only were taken priſoners. Thus, the little advantage of their victories, and the heavy loſs of their defeats, as in the recent inſtance of the carriages, was a freſh diſcouragement to the Romans.

The day following they returned with their baggage to the camp before Phraata. In their march they met with ſome ſtraggling troops of the enemy, afterwards with greater parties, and at laſt with the whole body, which having eaſily rallied, appeared like a freſh army, and haraſſed them in ſuch a manner, that it was with difficulty they reached their camp.

The Median garriſon, in the abſence of Antony, had made a ſally; and thoſe who were left to defend the mount, had quitted their poſt, and fled. Antony, at his return, puniſhed the fugitives by decimation. That is, he divided them into tens; and, in each diviſion, put one to death, on whom the lot happened to fall. Thoſe that eſcaped, had their allowance in barley inſtead of wheat.

Both parties now found their difficulties in the war. Antony had the dread of famine before him, for he could not forage without a terrible ſlaughter of his men; and Phraates, who knew the temper of the Parthians, was apprehenſive, that, if the Romans perſiſted in carrying on the ſiege, as ſoon as the autumnal equinox was paſt, and the winter ſet in, he ſhould be deſerted by his army, which would not at that time endure the open field. To prevent this, he had recourſe to ſtratagem. He ordered his officers not to purſue the Romans too cloſe when they were foraging, but to permit them to carry off proviſions. He commanded them, at the ſame time, to compliment them on their valour;

valour; and to exprefs his high opinion of the Roman bravery. They were inftructed, likewife, as opportunity might offer, to blame the obftinacy of Antony, which expofed fo many brave men to the feverities of famine and a winter campaign, who muft fuffer of courfe, notwithftanding all the Parthians could do for them, while Phraates fought for nothing more than peace, though he was ftill defeated in his benevolent intentions.

Antony, on thefe reports, began to conceive hopes; but he would not offer any terms before he was fatisfied whether they came originally from the king. The enemy affured him, that fuch were the fentiments of Phraates; and, being induced to believe them, he fent fome of his friends to demand the ftandards and the prifoners that came into their hands on the defeat of Craffus; for he thought, if he demanded nothing, it might appear that he was pleafed with the privilege of retreating. The Parthian anfwered, that the ftandards and prifoners could not be reftored; but that Antony, if he thought proper, was at liberty to retreat in fafety.

After fome few days had been fpent in making up the baggage, he began his march. On this occafion, though he had the happieft eloquence in addreffing his foldiers, and reconciling them to every fituation and event; yet, whether it was through fhame, or forrow, or both, he left that office to Domitius Ænobarbus. Some of them were offended at this as an act of contempt. But the greater part underftood the caufe, and, pitying their general, paid him ftill greater attention.

Antony had determined to take his rout through a plain and open country; but a certain Mardian, who was well acquainted with the practices of the Parthians, and had approved his faith to the Romans at the battle when the machines were loft, advifed him to take the mountains on his right, and not to expofe his heavy-armed troops in an open country to the attacks of the Parthian bowmen and cavalry. Phraates, he faid, amufed him with fair promifes, merely to draw him off from the fiege; but if he would take him for his guide, he would conduct him by a way that was nearer, and better furnifhed with neceffaries. Antony deliberated fome time upon this. He would not appear to doubt the honour of the Parthians after the truce they had agreed to; and yet, he could not but approve of a way which was nearer, and which lay through an inhabited country.

country. At laſt, he required the neceſſary pledges of the Mardian's faith, which he gave in ſuffering himſelf to be bound till he ſhould have conducted the army into Armenia. In this condition he led the Romans peaceably along for two days: but on the third, when Antony, expecting nothing leſs than the Parthians, was marching forward in diſorderly ſecurity, the Mardian obſerving the mounds of a river broken down, and the waters let out into the plain where they were to paſs, concluded that the Parthians had done this to retard their march, and adviſed Antony to be on his guard; for the enemy, he ſaid, was at no great diſtance. Whilſt Antony was drawing up his men, and preparing ſuch of them as were armed with darts and ſlings to make a ſally againſt the enemy, the Parthians came upon him, and, by ſurrounding his army, haraſſed it on every part. The light-armed Romans, indeed, made an incurſion upon them, and, galling them with their miſſive weapons, obliged them to retreat; but they ſoon returned to the charge, till a band of the Gauliſh cavalry attacked and diſperſed them; ſo that they appeared no more that day.

Antony, upon this, found what meaſures he was to take; and, covering both wings and the rear with ſuch troops as were armed with miſſive weapons, his army marched in the form of a ſquare. The cavalry had orders to repel the attacks of the enemy, but not to purſue them to any great diſtance. The Parthians, of courſe, when in four ſucceſſive days they could make no conſiderable impreſſion, and found themſelves equally annoyed in their turn, grew more remiſs, and, finding an excuſe in the winter-ſeaſon, began to think of a retreat. On the fifth day, Flavius Gallus, a general officer of great courage and valour, requeſted Antony, that he would indulge him with a number of light-armed troops from the rear, together with a few horſe from the front; and with theſe he propoſed to perform ſome conſiderable exploit. Theſe he obtained, and in repelling the attacks of the Parthians, he did not, like the reſt, retreat by degrees towards the body of the army, but maintained his ground, and fought rather on the offenſive than on the defenſive. When the officers of the rear obſerved that he was ſeparated from the reſt, they ſent to recall him, but he did not obey the ſummons. It is ſaid, however, that Titius the quæſtor turned back the ſtandard, and inveighed againſt Gallus for leading ſo many brave men to deſtruction. Gallus, on the other hand, re-

turned

turned his reproaches, and commanding thoſe who were about him to ſtand, he made his retreat alone. Gallus had no ſooner made an impreſſion on the enemy's front, than he was ſurrounded. In this diſtreſs he ſent for aſſiſtance; and here the general officers, and Canidius, the favourite of Antony, amongſt the reſt, committed a moſt capital error. Inſtead of leading the whole army againſt the Parthians, as ſoon as one detachment was overpowered, they ſent another to its ſupport; and thus, by degrees, they would have ſacrificed great part of the troops, had not Antony come haſtily from the front with the heavy-armed, and urging on the third legion through the midſt of the fugitives, ſtopped the enemy's purſuit.

In this action no fewer than three thouſand were ſlain, and five thouſand brought back wounded to the camp. Amongſt the laſt was Gallus, who had four arrows ſhot through his body, and ſoon after died of his wounds. Antony viſited all that had ſuffered on this unhappy occaſion, and conſoled them with tears of real grief and affection: while the wounded ſoldiers, embracing the hand of their general, intreated him not to attend to their ſufferings, but to his own health and quiet, " While our general " is ſafe, all," ſaid they, " is well." It is certain that there was not in thoſe days a braver or a finer army. The men were tall, ſtout, able and willing to endure the greateſt toils. Their reſpect and ready obedience to their general was wonderful. Not a man in the army, from the firſt officer to the meaneſt ſoldier, but would have preferred the favour of Antony to his own life and ſafety. In all theſe reſpects they were at leaſt equal to the armies of ancient Rome. A variety of cauſes, as we have obſerved, concurred to produce this: Antony's noble birth, his eloquence, his candour, his liberality and magnificence, and the familiar pleaſantry of his converſation. Theſe were the general cauſes of the affection he found in his army; and, on this particular occaſion, his ſympathiſing with the wounded and attending to their wants, made them totally forget their ſufferings.

The Parthians, who had, before, begun to languiſh in their operations, were ſo much elevated with this advantage, and held the Romans in ſuch contempt, that they even ſpent the night by their camp, in hopes of ſeizing the baggage while they deſerted their tents. At break of day, numbers more came up, to the amount, as it is ſaid, of

forty thouſand horſe: for the Parthian king had ſent even his body-guard, ſo confident was he of abſolute victory; as to himſelf, he never was preſent at any engagement.

Antony being now to addreſs his ſoldiers, called for mourning apparel, that his ſpeech might be more affecting; but as his friends would not permit this, he appeared in his general's robe. Thoſe that had been victorious he praiſed, thoſe who had fled he reproached; the former encouraged him by every teſtimony of their zeal; the latter, offering themſelves either to decimation or any other kind of puniſhment that he might think proper to inflict upon them, intreated him to forego his ſorrow and concern. Upon this he raiſed his hands to heaven, and prayed to the gods, "That if his happier fortune was to be followed by "future evil, it might affect only himſelf, and that his "army might be ſafe and victorious."

The day following they marched out in better and firmer order, and the Parthians, who thought they had nothing to do but to plunder, when they ſaw their enemy in freſh ſpirits and in a capacity for renewing the engagement, were extremely diſconcerted. However, they fell upon the Romans from the adjacent declivities, and galled them with their arrows as they were marching ſlowly forward. Againſt theſe attacks the light-armed troops were covered by the legionaries, who placing one knee upon the ground, received the arrows on their ſhields. The rank that was behind covered that which was before in a regular gradation; ſo that this curious fortification, which defended them from the arrows of the enemy, reſembled the roof of a houſe.

The Parthians, who thought that the Romans reſted on their knees only through weарineſs and fatigue, threw away their bows, and came to cloſe engagement with their ſpears. Upon this the Romans leaped up with a loud ſhout, cut to pieces thoſe who came firſt to the attack, and put all the reſt to flight. This method of attack and defence being repeated every day, they made but little progreſs in their march, and were, beſides, diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; they could not forage without fighting; the corn they could get was but little, and even *that* they had not inſtruments to grind. The greateſt part of them had been left behind; for many of their beaſts of burthen were dead, and many were employed in carrying the ſick and wounded. It is ſaid that a buſhel of wheat, Attic meaſure, was ſold for fifty drachmas, and a barley loaf for its weight in ſilver.

Thoſe

Thoſe who ſought for roots and pot-herbs found few that they had been accuſtomed to eat, and in taſting unknown herbs, they met with one that brought on madneſs and death. He that had eaten of it immediately loſt all memory and knowledge; but, at the ſame time, would buſy himſelf in turning and moving every ſtone he met with, as if he was upon ſome very important purſuit. The camp was full of unhappy men bending to the ground, and thus digging up and removing ſtones, till at laſt they were carried off by a bilious vomiting; when wine *, the only remedy †, was not to be had. Thus, while numbers periſhed, and the Parthians ſtill continued to haraſs them, Antony is ſaid frequently to have cried out, "O the ten thouſand!" alluding to the army that Xenophon led from Babylon both a longer way ‡, and through more numerous conflicts, and yet led in ſafety.

The Parthians, when they found that they could not break through the Roman ranks, nor throw them into diſorder, but were frequently beaten in their attacks, begun once more to treat their foragers in a peaceable manner. They ſhewed them their bows unſtrung, and informed them that they had given up the purſuit, and were going to depart. A few Medes, they ſaid, might continue the rout a day or two longer, but they would give the Romans no trouble, as their only purpoſe was to protect ſome of the remoter villages. Theſe profeſſions were accompanied with many kind ſalutations; inſomuch that the Romans conceived freſh hopes and ſpirits; and, becauſe the way over the mountains was ſaid to be deſtitute of water, Antony once more was deſirous of taking his rout through the plains. When he was going to put this ſcheme in execution, one Mithridates, couſin to that Moneſes who had formerly ſought his protection, and been preſented by him with three cities, came from the enemy's camp, and deſired he might be permitted to ſpeak with ſome perſon that underſtood the Syrian or the Parthian language. Alexander of Antioch, a friend of Antony's went out to him, and after the Parthian had informed



* The ancients held wine to be a principal remedy againſt vomiting. *Præterea vomitiones ſiſtit.* Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. xxiii. c. 1.

† It was likewiſe eſteemed good againſt many kinds of poiſon. *Merum eſt contra cicutam, Aconita et omnia quæ refrigerant remedium.* Ibid.

‡ When Plutarch ſays that Xenophon led his ten thouſand a longer way, he muſt mean to terminate Antony's march with Armenia.

formed him who he was, and attributed his coming to the kindness of Moneses, he asked him, whether he did not see at a great distance before him a range of high hills. "Under "those hills," said he, "the whole Parthian army lies in am- "buscade for you: for at the foot of the mountains there "is a spacious plain, and there, when, deluded by their "artifices, you have left the way over the heights, they "expect to find you. In the mountain roads, indeed, you "have thirst and toil to contend with as usual; but, should "Antony take the plains, he must expect the fate of "Crassus."

After he had given this information, he departed; and Antony on the occasion assembled a council, and amongst the rest his Mardian guide, who concurred with the directions of the Parthian. The way over the plains, he said, was hardly practicable, were there no enemy to contend with. The windings were long and tedious, and difficult to be made out. The rugged way over the mountains, on the contrary, had no other difficulty in it than to endure thirst for one day. Antony, therefore, changed his mind, and ordering each man to take water along with him, took the mountain road by night. As there was not a sufficient number of vessels, some conveyed their water in helmets, and others in bladders.

The Parthians were informed of Antony's motions, and, contrary to custom, pursued him in the night. About sunrise they came up with the rear, weary as it was with toil and watching; for that night they had travelled thirty miles. In this condition they had to contend with an unexpected enemy, and being at once obliged to fight and continue their march, their thirst became still more insupportable. At last the front came up to a river, the water of which was cool and clear, but being salt and acrimonious, it occasioned a pain in the stomach and bowels that had been heated and inflamed with thirst. The Mardian guide had, indeed, forewarned them of this, but the poor fellows rejecting the information that was brought them, drank eagerly of the stream. Antony, running amongst the ranks, intreated them to forbear but a little. He told them that there was another river at no great distance, the water of which might be drank with safety; and that the way was so extremely rocky and uneven, that it was impossible for the enemy's cavalry to pursue. At the same time he sounded a retreat to call off such as were engaged with the enemy, and gave

gave the ſignal for pitching their tents, that they might at leaſt have the convenience of ſhade.

While their tents were fixing, and the Parthians, as uſual, retiring from the purſuit, Mithridates came again, and Alexander being ſent out to him, he adviſed that the Romans, after a little reſt, ſhould riſe and make for the river, becauſe the Parthians did not propoſe to carry their purſuit beyond it. Alexander reported this to Antony, and Mithridates being preſented with as many phials and cups of gold as he could conceal in his garments, once more left the camp. Antony, while it was yet day, ſtruck his tents, and marched, unmoleſted by the enemy. But ſo dreadful a night as followed he had never paſſed. Thoſe who were known to be poſſeſſed of gold or ſilver were ſlain and plundered, and the money that was conveyed in the baggage was made a prey of. Laſt of all, Antony's baggage was ſeized, and the richeſt bowls and tables were cut aſunder and divided amongſt the plunderers. The greateſt terror and diſtraction ran through the whole army, for it was concluded that the inroads of the enemy had occaſioned this flight and confuſion. Antony ſent for one of his freedmen called Rhamnus, and made him ſwear that he would ſtab him and cut off his head, whenever he ſhould command him, that he might neither fall alive into the hands of the enemy, nor be known when dead. While his friends were weeping around him, the Mardian guide gave him ſome encouragement, by telling him that the river was at hand, as he could perceive by the cool freſhneſs of the air that iſſued from it, and that, of courſe, the troubles of his journey would ſoon be at an end, as the night nearly was. At the ſame time he was informed that all theſe diſorders had been occaſioned by the avarice of the ſoldiers, and he, therefore, ordered the ſignal for encamping, that he might rectify his diſordered army *.

 It

* Plutarch does not in this place appear to be ſufficiently informed. The cauſe of this tumult in the army could not be the avarice of the ſoldiers only, ſince that might have operated long before, and at a time when they were capable of enjoying money. Their object now was the preſervation of life; and it was not wealth but water that they wanted. We muſt look for the cauſe of this diſorder then in ſome other circumſtance; and that probably was the report of their general's deſpair, or poſſibly of his death; for, otherwiſe, they would hardly have plundered his baggage. The fidelity and affection they had ſhewn him in all their diſtreſſes, afford a ſufficient argument on this behalf.

It was now day-light, and as ſoon as the troops were brought to a little order, the Parthians once more began to haraſs the rear. The ſignal was, therefore, given to the light-troops to engage, and the heavy-armed received the arrows under a roof of ſhields as before. The Parthians, however, durſt not come any more to cloſe engagement, and when the front had advanced a little farther, the river was in ſight. Antony firſt drew up the cavalry on the banke to carry over the weak and wounded. The combat was now over, and the thirſty could enjoy their water in quiet. At ſight of the river the Parthians unſtrung their bows, and, with the higheſt encomiums on their bravery, bade their enemies paſs over in peace. They did ſo, and after the neceſſary refreſhments, proceeded on their march, without much confidence in the Parthian praiſe or profeſſions. Within ſix days from the laſt battle they arrived at the river Araxes, which divides Media from Armenia. This river, on account of the depth and ſtrength of its current, ſeemed difficult to paſs, and a rumour, moreover, ran through the army that the enemy was there in ambuſcade, to attack them as they forded it. However they paſſed over in ſafety, and when they ſet foot in Armenia, with the avidity of mariners when they firſt come on ſhore, they kiſſed the ground in adoration, and embraced each other with a pleaſure that could only expreſs itſelf in tears. The ill conſequences of their former extremities, however, diſcovered themſelves even here; for as they now paſſed through a country of plenty and profuſion, their too great indulgences threw them into the dropſy and the cholic. Antony, on reviewing his army, found that he had loſt twenty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, more than half of which had not died in battle, but by ſickneſs. They had been twenty-ſeven days in their return from Phraatæ, and had beaten the Parthians in eighteen engagements; but theſe victories were by no means complete, becauſe they could not proſecute their advantages by purſuit.

Hence it is evident, that Artavaſdes deprived Antony of the fruits of his Parthian expedition; for had he been aſſiſted by the ſixteen thouſand horſe which he took with him out of Media, (who were armed like the Parthians, and accuſtomed to fight with them) after the Romans had beaten them in ſet battles, this cavalry might have taken up the purſuit, and haraſſed them in ſuch a manner, that they could not ſo often have rallied, and returned to the charge.

All,

All, therefore, were exciting Antony to revenge himſelf on Artavaſdes. But he followed better counſels, and in his preſent weak and indigent condition, he did not think proper to withhold the uſual reſpect and honours he had paid him. But when he came into Armenia on another occaſion, after having drawn him to a meeting by fair promiſes and invitations, he ſeized and carried him bound to Alexandria, where he led him in triumphal proceſſion. The Romans were offended at this triumph and at Antony, who had thus transferred the principal honours of their country to Egypt, for the gratification of Cleopatra. Theſe things, however, happened in a later period of Antony's life.

The ſeverity of the winter, and perpetual ſnows, were ſo deſtructive to the troops, that, in his march, he loſt eight thouſand men. Accompanied by a ſmall party, he went down to the ſea-coaſt, and in a fort between Berytus and Sidon, called the *White Hair* *, he waited for Cleopatra. To divert his impatience on her delay, he had recourſe to feſtivity and intoxication; and he would frequently, over his cups, ſtart up from his ſeat, and run leaping and dancing to look out for her approach. At length ſhe came, and brought with her a large quantity of money and clothing for the army. Some, however, have aſſerted that ſhe brought nothing but the clothes, and that Antony ſupplied the money, though he gave her the credit of it.

There happened at this time a quarrel between Phraates and the king of the Medes, occaſioned, as it is ſaid, by the diviſion of the Roman ſpoils, and the latter was apprehenſive of loſing his kingdom. He therefore ſent to Antony an offer of his aſſiſtance againſt the Parthians. Antony, who concluded that he had failed of conquering the Parthians only through want of cavalry and bowmen, and would here ſeem rather to confer than to receive a favour, determined once more to return to Armenia, and, after joining the king of the Medes at the river Araxes, to renew the war.

Octavia, who was ſtill at Rome, now expreſſed a deſire of viſiting Antony, and Cæſar gave her his permiſſion, not according to the general opinion, merely to oblige her, but that the ill treatment and neglect which he concluded ſhe ſhould meet with, might give him a pretence for renewing the war. When ſhe arrived at Athens, ſhe received letters

 from

* Λευκη κομη.

from Antony, commanding her to continue there, and acquainting her with his new expedition. These letters mortified her, for she suspected the expedition to be nothing more than a pretence; however, she wrote to him, and desired he would send his commands where she should leave the presents she had brought. These presents consisted of clothing for the army, beasts of burthen, money, and gifts for his officers and friends. Beside these, she had brought two thousand picked men, fully equipped and armed for the general's cohort. Octavia sent this letter by Niger, a friend of Antony's, who did not fail to pay her the compliments she deserved, but represented her to Antony in the most agreeable light.

Cleopatra dreaded her rival. She was apprehensive that if she came to Antony, the respectable gravity of her manners, added to the authority and interest of Cæsar, would carry off her husband. She therefore pretended to be dying for the love of Antony, and to give a colour to her pretence, she emaciated herself by abstinence. At his approach she taught her eye to express an agreeable surprize, and when he left her, she put on the look of languishment and dejection. Sometimes she would endeavour to weep, and then, as if she wished to hide the tear from her tender Antony, she affected to wipe it off unseen.

Antony was, all this while, preparing for his Median expedition, and Cleopatra's creatures and dependants did not fail to reproach his unfeeling heart, which could suffer the woman whose life was wrapped up in his, to die for his sake. Octavia's marriage, they said, was a mere political convenience, and it was enough for her that she had the honour of being called his wife: Poor Cleopatra, though queen of a mighty nation, was called nothing more than his mistress; yet even with this, for the sake of his society, she could be content; but of that society whenever she should be deprived, it would deprive her of life. These insinuations so totally unmanned him, that through fear of Cleopatra's putting an end to her life, he returned to Egypt, and put off the Mede till summer, though at that time the Parthian affairs were said to be in a seditious and disorderly situation. At length, however, he went into Armenia, and after entering into alliance with the Mede, and betrothing one of Cleopatra's sons to a daughter of his who was very young, he returned, that he might attend to the civil war.

When

When Octavia returned from Athens, Cæsar looked upon the treatment she had met with as a mark of the greatest contempt, and he, therefore, ordered her to retire and live alone. However, she refused to quit her husband's house, and moreover intreated Cæsar by no means to have recourse to arms merely on her account. It would be infamous, she said, for the two chiefs of the Roman empire to involve the people in a civil war, one for the love of a woman, and the other out of jealousy. By her own conduct she added weight to her expostulations. She kept up the dignity of Antony's house, and took the same care of his children, as well those that he had by Fulvia as her own, that she could possibly have taken, had he been present. Antony's friends who were sent to Rome to solicit honours or transact business, she kindly entertained, and used her best offices with Cæsar to obtain what they requested. Yet even by this conduct she was hurting Antony, contrary to her inclination. His injurious treatment of such a woman excited a general indignation; and the distribution he had made to his children in Alexandria, carried with it something so imperious and so disparaging to the Romans, that it increased that indignation not a little. The manner of doing it was extremely obnoxious. He summoned the people to the place of public exercise, and ordering two golden chairs to be placed on a tribunal of silver, one for himself, and the other for Cleopatra, beside lower seats for the children, he announced her queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Africa, and Cœlosyria, and nominated Cæsario, her son by Cæsar the dictator, her colleague. The sons she had by him he entitled Kings of Kings, and to Alexander he gave Armenia and Media, together with Parthia, when it should be conquered. To Ptolemy he gave Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia. At the same time the children made their appearance, Alexander in a Median dress, with the turban and tiara; and Ptolemy in the long cloak and slippers, with a bonnet encircled by a diadem. The latter was dressed like the successors of Alexander; the former like the Median and Armenian kings. When the children saluted their parents, one was attended by Armenian, the other by Macedonian guards. Cleopatra on this, and on other public occasions, wore the sacred robe of Isis*, and affected to give audience to the people in the character and name of the *New Isis*.

Cæsar

* This robe was of all colours, to signify the universality of the goddess's influence. The robe of Osiris was of one colour only.

Cæſar expatiated on theſe things in the ſenate, and by frequent accuſations, incenſed the people againſt Antony. Antony did not fail to recriminate by his deputies. In the firſt place, he charged Cæſar with wreſting Sicily out of the hands of Pompey, and not dividing it with him. His next charge was, that Cæſar had never returned the ſhips he had borrowed of him: a third, that after reducing his colleague Lepidus to the condition of a private man, he had taken to himſelf his army, his province, and his tributes: laſtly, that he had diſtributed almoſt all the lands in Italy among his own ſoldiers, and had left nothing for his. To theſe Cæſar made anſwer, that Lepidus was reduced, from an incapacity of ſuſtaining his government; that what he had acquired by war he was ready to divide with Antony, and at the ſame time he expected to ſhare Armenia with him; that his ſoldiers had no right to lands in Italy, becauſe Media and Armenia, which by their bravery they had added to the Roman empire, had been allotted to them.

Antony being informed of theſe things in Armenia, immediately ſent Canidius to the ſea-coaſt with ſixteen legions. In the mean time he went to Epheſus attended by Cleopatra. There he aſſembled his fleet, which conſiſted of eight hundred ſhips of burthen, whereof Cleopatra furniſhed two hundred, beſide twenty thouſand talents, and proviſions for the whole army. Antony, by the advice of Domitius and ſome other friends, ordered Cleopatra to return to Egypt, and there to wait the event of the war. But the queen, apprehenſive that a reconciliation might take place, through the mediation of Octavia, by means of large bribes drew over Canidius to her intereſt. She prevailed on him to repreſent to Antony, that it was unreaſonable to refuſe ſo powerful an auxiliary the privilege of being preſent at the war; that her preſence was even neceſſary to animate and encourage the Egyptians, who made ſo conſiderable a part of his naval force; nor was Cleopatra, in point of ablities, inferior to any of the princes his allies; ſince ſhe had not only been a long time at the head of a conſiderable kingdom, but by her intercourſe with him, had learnt the adminiſtration of the greateſt affairs. Theſe remonſtrances, as the Fates had decreed every thing for Cæſar, had the deſired effect, and they ſailed together for Samos, where they indulged in every ſpecies of luxury. For at the ſame time that the kings, governors, ſtates, and provinces, between

Syria

Syria, the Mœotis, Armenia, and Lauria *, were commanded to ſend their contributions to the war, the whole tribe of players and muſicians were ordered to repair to Samos; and while almoſt the whole world beſide was venting its anguiſh in groans and tears, that iſland alone was piping and dancing. The ſeveral cities ſent oxen for ſacrifice, and kings contended in the magnificence of their preſents and entertainments. So that it was natural to ſay, " What kind of figure will theſe people make in their " triumph, when their very preparations for war are ſo " ſplendid!"

When theſe things were over, he gave Priene for the reſidence of the players and muſicians, and ſailed for Athens, where he once more renewed the farce of public entertainments. The Athenians had treated Octavia, when ſhe was at Athens, with the higheſt reſpect; and Cleopatra, jealous of the honours ſhe had received, endeavoured to court the people by every mark of favour. The people in return decreed her public honours, and ſent a deputation to wait on her with the decree. At the head of this deputation was Antony himſelf, in character of a citizen of Athens, and he was prolocutor on the occaſion.

In the mean time he ſent ſome of his people to turn Octavia out of his houſe at Rome. When ſhe left it, it is ſaid ſhe took with her all his children, (except the eldeſt by Fulvia, who attended him) and deplored the ſeverity of her fate with tears, under the apprehenſion that ſhe would be looked upon as one of the cauſes of the civil war. The Romans pitied her ſufferings, but ſtill more the folly of Antony, particularly ſuch as had ſeen Cleopatra; for ſhe was by no means preferable to Octavia, either on account of her youth or beauty.

When Cæſar was informed of the celerity and magnificence of Antony's preparations, he was afraid of being forced into the war that ſummer. This would have been very inconvenient for him, as he was in want of almoſt every thing, and the levies of money occaſioned a general diſſatisfaction. The whole body of the people were taxed one-fourth of their income, and the ſons of freedmen one eighth. This occaſioned the greateſt clamour and confuſion

* As a mountain of no note in Attica does not ſeem proper to be mentioned with great kingdoms and provinces, it is ſuppoſed that we ought to read *Illyria* inſtead of *Lauria*. Illyria is afterwards mentioned as the boundary of Antony's dominions on that ſide.

ſion in Italy, and Antony certainly committed a very great overſight in neglecting the advantage. By his unaccountable delays he gave Cæſar an opportunity both to complete his preparations, and appeaſe the minds of the people. When the money was demanded, they murmured and mutinied; but after it was once paid, they thought of it no longer.

Titius and Plancus, men of conſular dignity, and Antony's principal friends, being ill-uſed by Cleopatra on account of their oppoſing her ſtay in the army, abandoned him and went over to Cæſar. As they knew the contents of Antony's will, they preſently made him acquainted with them. This will was lodged in the hands of the veſtals; and when Cæſar demanded it they refuſed to ſend it; adding, that if he was determined to have it, he muſt come and take it himſelf. Accordingly he went and took it. Firſt of all he read it over to himſelf, and remarked ſuch paſſages as were moſt liable to cenſure. Afterwards he read it in the ſenate, and this gave a general offence *. It ſeemed to the greateſt part an abſurd and unprecedented thing that a man ſhould ſuffer in his life, for what he had ordered to be done after his death. Cæſar dwelt particularly on the orders he had given concerning his funeral. For in caſe he died at Rome, he had directed his body to be carried in proceſſion through the *forum*, and afterwards conveyed to Alexandria to Cleopatra. Calviſius, a retainer of Cæſar's, alſo accuſed him of having given to Cleopatra the Pergamenian library, which conſiſted of two hundred thouſand volumes; and added, that once, when they ſupped in public, Antony roſe and trode on Cleopatra's foot † by way of ſignal for ſome rendezvous. He aſſerted, moreover, that he ſuffered the Epheſians in his preſence to call Cleopatra ſovereign; and that when he was preſiding at the adminiſtration of public affairs, attended by ſeveral tetrarchs and kings, he received love-letters from her incloſed in onyx and cryſtal, and there peruſed them. Beſides, when Furnius, a man of great dignity, and one of the ableſt of the Roman orators, was ſpeaking in public, Cleopatra was carried through the *forum* in a litter; upon which Antony immediately ſtarted up,

* This was an act of moſt injurious violence. Nothing could be more ſacred than a will depoſited in the hands of the veſtals.

† Τριβειν τȣς ποδας. The former Engliſh tranſlator ſays, that *Antony took hold of her feet, and handled them.* Whatever idea he might have of Antony's familiarity, he ought not, ſurely, to have been ſo familiar with Plutarch.

up, and no longer paying his attention to the caufe, accompanied her, leaning on the litter as he walked.

The veracity of Calvifius, in thefe accufations, was, neverthelefs, fufpected. The friends of Antony folicited the people in his behalf, and defpatched Geminius, one of their number, to put him on his guard againft the abrogation of his power, and his being declared an enemy to the Roman people. Geminius failed into Greece, and, on his arrival, was fufpected by Cleopatra as an agent of Octavius's. On this account he was contemptuoufly treated, and the loweft feats were affigned him at the public fuppers. This, however, he bore for fome time with patience, in hopes of obtaining an interview with Antony: but being publicly called upon to declare the caufe of his coming, he anfwered, "That one part of the caufe would require to be communi-"cated at a fober hour, but the other part could not be "miftaken, whether a man were drunk or fober; for it "was clear that all things would go well, if Cleopatra re-"tired into Egypt." Antony was extremely chagrined; and Cleopatra faid, "You have done very well, Geminius, "to confefs without being put to the torture." Geminius foon after withdrew, and returned to Rome. Many more of Antony's friends were driven off by the creatures of Cleopatra, when they could no longer endure their infolence and fcurrility. Amongft the reft were Marcus Silanus, and Dellius the hiftorian. The latter informs us, that Cleopatra had a defign upon his life, as he was told by Glaucus the phyfician; becaufe he had once affronted her at fupper, by faying, that while Sarmentus was drinking Falernian at Rome, they were obliged to take up with vinegar. Sarmentus was a boy of Cæfar's, one of thofe creatures whom the Romans call *Deliciæ*.

When Cæfar had made his preparations, it was decreed that war fhould be declared againft Cleopatra; for that Antony could not be faid to poffefs that power which he had already given up to a woman. Cæfar obferved, that he was like a man under enchantment, who has no longer any power over himfelf. It was not he, with whom they were going to war, but Mardion the eunuch, and Pothinus; Iris, Cleopatra's woman, and Charmion; for thefe had the principal direction of affairs. Several prodigies are faid to have happened previous to this war. Pifaurum, a colony of Antony's on the Adriatic, was fwallowed up by an earthquake. Antony's ftatue in Alba was covered with

ſweat for many days, which returned though it was frequently wiped off. While he was at Patræ, the temple of Hercules was ſet on fire by lightening: and at Athens the ſtatue of Bacchus was carried by a whirlwind from the Gigantomachia into the theatre. Theſe things concerned Antony the more nearly, as he affected to be a deſcendant of Hercules, and an imitator of Bacchus, inſomuch that he was called the younger Bacchus. The ſame wind threw down the coloſſal ſtatues of Eumenes and Attalus, called the Antonii, while the reſt were unmoved. And in Cleopatra's royal galley, which was called *Antonias*, a terrible phænomenon appeared. Some ſwallows had built their neſts in the ſtern, and others drove them away and deſtroyed their young.

Upon the commencement of the war, Antony had no fewer than five hundred armed veſſels, magnificently adorned, and furniſhed with eight or ten banks of oars. He had, moreover, an hundred thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe. The auxiliary kings, who fought under his banners, were Bocchus of Africa, Tarcondemus of the Upper Cilicia, Archelaus of Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagene, and Adallas of Thrace. Thoſe who did not attend in perſon, but ſent ſupplies, were Polemo of Pontus, Malchus of Arabia, Herod of Judea, and Amyntas king of Lycaonia and Galatia. Beſide theſe he had ſupplies alſo from the king of the Medes. —Cæſar had two hundred and fifty men of war, eighty thouſand foot, and an equal number of horſe with the enemy. Antony's dominions lay from the Euphrates and Armenia, to the Ionian ſea and Illyria: Cæſar's extended from Illyria to the weſtern ocean, and from that again to the Tuſcan and Sicilian ſea. He had likewiſe all that part of Africa which lies oppoſite to Italy, Gaul, and Spain, as far as the pillars of Hercules. The reſt of that country, from Cyrene to Ethiopia, was in the poſſeſſion of Antony.

But ſuch a ſlave was he to the will of a woman, that though much ſuperior at land, to gratify her, he put his whole confidence in the navy; notwithſtanding that the ſhips had not half their compliment of men, and the officers were obliged to preſs and pick up in Greece vagrants, aſs-drivers, reapers, and boys. Nor could they make up their numbers even with theſe, but many of the ſhips were ſtill almoſt empty. Cæſar's ſhips, which were not high-built or ſplendidly ſet off for ſhew, but tight good ſailors, well

manned

manned and equipped, continued in the harbours of Tarentum and Brundusium. From thence he sent to Antony, desiring he would meet him with his forces, that no time might be lost; offering at the same time to leave the ports and harbours free for his landing, and to withdraw his army a day's journey on horseback, that he might make good his encampment. To this Antony returned a haughty answer, and though he was the older man, challenged Cæsar to single combat; or if he should decline this, he might meet him at Pharsalia, and decide it where Cæsar and Pompey had done before. Cæsar prevented this; for while Antony made for Actium, which is now called Nicopolis, he crossed the Ionian, and seized on Toryne, a place in Epirus. Antony was distressed on finding this, because he was without his infantry; but Cleopatra made a jest of it, and asked him if it was so very dreadful a thing that Cæsar was got into the *Ladle* *.

Antony, as soon as it was day-light, perceived the enemy making up to him; and fearing that his ill-manned vessels would be unable to stand the attack, he armed the rowers, and placed them on the decks to make a shew, with the oars suspended on each side of the vessels, he proceeded in this mock form of battle towards Actium. Cæsar was deceived by the stratagem and retired. The water about Cæsar's camp was both scarce and bad, and Antony had the address to cut off the little that they had.

It was much about this time that, contrary to the inclination of Cleopatra, he acted so generous a part by Domitius. The latter, even when he had a fever upon him, took a small boat and went over to Cæsar: Antony, though he could not but resent this, sent after him his baggage, his friends and servants, and Domitius, as if it had been for grief that his treachery was discovered, died very soon after †. Amyntas and Deiotarus likewise went over to Cæsar.

Antony's fleet was so very unsuccessful, and so unfit for service, that he was obliged at last to think of his land-forces; and Canidius, who had been retained in the interest of

* In Greek *Toryne*.

† Plutarch seems to be ill-informed about this matter. It is most probable that Domitius, one of the firmest friends of Antony, was delirious when he went over to Cæsar, and that Antony was sensible of this when he sent his attendants after him. It is possible, at the same time, that, when he returned to himself, the sense of his defection might occasion his death.

of Cleopatra, now changing his mind, thought it neceſſary that ſhe ſhould be ſent away, and that Antony ſhould retire into Thrace or Macedonia to decide it in the field. Theſe places were thought of the rather, becauſe Dicomes, king of the Getæ, had offered to aſſiſt Antony with a large army. To give up the ſea to Cæſar, who, in his Sicilian wars, had acquired ſo much experience upon it, he ſaid, would be no diſgrace; but to give up the advantage which ſo able a general as himſelf might make of his land-forces, and waſte the ſtrength of ſo many legions in uſeleſs draughts for the ſea-ſervice, would be infinitely abſurd. Cleopatra, however, prevailed for the deciſion by ſea; though her motive was not the ſuperior chance of victory, but, in caſe of being vanquiſhed, the better opportunity to eſcape.

There was a neck of land that lay between Antony's camp and his fleet, along which he uſed to go frequently from one to the other. Cæſar was informed by a domeſtic how eaſy it might be to ſeize Antony in this paſſage, and he ſent a party to lie in wait for that purpoſe. They were ſo near carrying their point, that they ſeized the perſon who went before Antony, and had they not been too haſty, he muſt have fallen into their hands, for it was with the greateſt difficulty that he made his eſcape by flight.

After it was determined to decide the affair by ſea, they ſet fire to all the Egyptian veſſels except ſixty. The beſt and largeſt ſhips from three ranks of oars to ten were ſelected, and theſe had their proper compliment of men, for they were ſupplied with twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand archers. Upon this a veteran warrior, an experienced officer in the infantry, who had often fought under Antony, and whoſe body was covered with ſcars, cried, pointing to thoſe ſcars, "Why will you, general, diſtruſt theſe honeſt "wounds, and reſt your hopes on thoſe villainous wooden "bottoms? Let the Egyptians and the Phœnicians ſkirmiſh "at ſea; but give us at leaſt the land; for there it is that "we have learnt to conquer or to die." Antony made no anſwer, but ſeemed to encourage him by the motions of his hand and head; though, at the ſame time, he had no great confidence himſelf; for when the pilots would have left the ſails behind, he ordered them to take them all on board, pretending, indeed, that it ſhould be done to purſue the enemy's flight, not to facilitate his own.

On that and the three following days the ſea ran too high for an engagement: but on the fifth the weather was fine and

and the ſea calm. Antony and Poplicola led the right wing, Cœlius the left, and Marcus Octavius and Marcus Juſteius commanded the centre. Cæſar had given his left wing to Agrippa, and led the right himſelf. Antony's land-forces were commanded by Canidius, and Cæſar's remained quiet on the ſhore, under the command of Taurus. As to the generals themſelves, Antony was rowed about in a light veſſel, ordering his men, on account of the weight of their veſſels, to keep their ground and fight as ſteadily as if they were at land. He ordered his pilots to ſtand as firm as if they were at anchor, in that poſition to receive the attacks of the enemy, and by all means to avoid the diſadvantage of the ſtraits. Cæſar, when he left his tent before day, to review his fleet, met a man who was driving an aſs. Upon aſking his name, the man anſwered, my name is *Eutychus*, and the name of my aſs is *Nicon* *. The place where he met him was afterwards adorned with trophies of the beaks of ſhips, and there he placed the ſtatue of the aſs and his driver in braſs. After having reviewed the whole fleet, and taken his poſt in the right wing, he attended to the fleet of the enemy, which he was ſurpriſed to find ſteady and motionleſs as if it lay at anchor. For ſome time he was of opinion that it was ſo, and for that reaſon, he kept back his fleet at the diſtance of eight furlongs. About noon there was a briſk gale from the ſea, and Antony's forces being impatient for the combat, and truſting to the height and bulk of their veſſels, which they thought would render them invincible, put the left wing in motion. Cæſar rejoiced at the ſight of this, and kept back his right wing, that he might the more effectually draw them out to the open ſea, where his light gallies could eaſily ſurround the heavy half-manned veſſels of the enemy.

The attack was not made with any violence or impetuoſity: for Antony's ſhips were too heavy for that kind of rapid impreſſion, which, however, is very neceſſary for the breach of the enemy's veſſel. On the other hand, Cæſar's ſhips durſt neither encounter head to head with Antony's, on account of the ſtrength and roughneſs of their beaks, nor yet attack them on the ſides, ſince by means of their weight they would eaſily have broken their beaks, which were made of large ſquare pieces of timber faſtened to each other with iron cramps. The engagement, therefore,

* Good Fortune and Victory.

fore, was like a battle at land, rather than a fea-fight, or, more properly, like the ftorming of a town: for there were generally three or more fhips of Cæfar's about one of Antony's, affaulting it with pikes, javelins, and fire-brands, while Antony's men, out of their wooden towers * threw weapons of various kinds from engines. Agrippa opened his left wing with a defign to furround the enemy, and Poplicola, in his endeavour to prevent him was feparated from the main body, which threw it into diforder, while at the fame time it was attacked with great vigour by Arruntius †. When things were in this fituation, and nothing decifive was yet effected, Cleopatra's fixty fhips on a fudden hoifted their fails, and fairly took to flight through the midft of the combatants; for they were placed in the rear of the large veffels, and by breaking their way through them they occafioned no fmall confufion. The enemy faw them with aftonifhment making their way with a fair wind for the Peloponnefus. Antony, on this occafion, forgot both the general and the man; and as fome author has pleafantly obferved, *that a lover's foul lives in the body of his miftrefs*, fo, as if he had been abfolutely incorporated with her, he fuffered her to carry him foul and body away. No fooner did he fee her veffel hoifting fail, than forgetting every other object, forgetting thofe brave friends that were fhedding their blood in his caufe, he took a five-oared galley, and, accompanied only by Alexander the Syrian and Scellius, followed her who was the firft caufe, and now the accomplifher of his ruin. Her own deftruction was certain, and he voluntarily involved himfelf in her fate.

When fhe faw him coming, fhe put up a fignal in her veffel, on which he foon went aboard: neither of them could look each other in the face, and Antony fat down at the head of the fhip, where he remained in fombre filence, holding his head between his hands. In the mean time Cæfar's light fhips that were in purfuit of Antony, came in fight. Upon this he ordered his pilot to tack about and meet them; but they all declined the engagement and made off, except Eurycles the Lacedæmonian, who fhook his lance at him in a menacing manner on the deck. Antony ftanding at the head of his galley, cried, "Who art "thou that thus purfueft Antony?" He anfwered, "I "am

* His fhips are fo called on account of their talnefs.

† Arruntius muft have commanded Cæfar's centre, though that circumftance is not mentioned.

"am Eurycles the ſon of Lachares, and follow the fortunes "of Cæſar to revenge my father's death." This Lachares Antony had beheaded for a robbery. Eurycles, however, did not attack Antony's veſſel, but fell upon the other admiral-galley (for there were two of that rank) and by the ſhock turned her round. He took that veſſel and another which contained Antony's moſt valuable plate and furniture. When Eurycles was gone, Antony returned to the ſame penſive poſture; and continuing thus for three days, during which, either through ſhame or reſentment, he refuſed to ſee Cleopatra, he arrived at Tænarus. There the women who attended them, firſt brought them to ſpeak to each other, then to dine together, and not long after, as it may be ſuppoſed, to ſleep together. At laſt, ſeveral of his tranſports, and ſome of his friends who had eſcaped from the defeat, came up with him, and informed him that his fleet was totally deſtroyed, but that his land-forces were yet unhurt. Hereupon he ſent orders to Canidius immediately to march his army through Macedonia into Aſia. As for himſelf, he determined to ſail from Tænarus into Africa, and dividing one ſhip-load of treaſure amongſt his friends, he deſired them to provide for their own ſafety. They refuſed the treaſure, and expreſſed their ſorrow in tears; while Antony, with the kindeſt and moſt humane conſolations, intreated them to accept it, and diſmiſſed them with letters of recommendation to his agent at Corinth, whom he ordered to give them refuge till they could be reconciled to Cæſar. This agent was Theophilus the father of Hipparchus, who had great intereſt with Antony; but was the firſt of his freedmen that went over to Cæſar. He afterwards ſettled at Corinth.

In this poſture were the affairs of Antony. After his fleet at Actium had long ſtruggled with Cæſar's, a hard gale which blew right a-head of the ſhips, obliged them to give out about four in the afternoon. About five thouſand men were ſlain in the action, and Cæſar, according to his own account, took three hundred ſhips. Antony's flight was obſerved by few, and to thoſe who had not ſeen it, it was at firſt incredible. They could not poſſibly believe that a general, who had nineteen legions and twelve thouſand horſe, a general to whom viciſſitude of fortune was nothing new, would ſo baſely deſert them. His ſoldiers had an inexpreſſible deſire to ſee him, and ſtill expecting that he would appear in ſome part or other, gave the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of their courage and fidelity. Nay, when they

were even convinced that he was irrecoverably fled, they continued embodied for ſeven days, and would not liſten to the ambaſſadors of Cæſar. At laſt, however, when Canidius who commanded them fled from the camp by night, and when they were abandoned by their principal officers, they ſurrendered to Cæſar.

After this great ſucceſs, Cæſar ſailed for Athens. The cities of Greece he found in extreme poverty; for they had been plundered of their cattle and every thing elſe before the war. He, therefore, not only admitted them to favour, but made a diſtribution amongſt them of the remainder of the corn which had been provided for the war. My great grandfather Nicarchus uſed to relate, that as the inhabitants of Chæronea had no horſes, they were compelled to carry a certain quantity of corn on their ſhoulders to the ſea-coaſt as far as Anticyra, and were driven by ſoldiers with ſtripes like ſo many beaſts of burden. This, however, was done but once: for when the corn was meaſured a ſecond time, and they were preparing to carry it, news came of Antony's defeat, and this ſaved the city from further hardſhips; for the commiſſaries and ſoldiers immediately took to flight, and left the poor inhabitants to ſhare the corn amongſt themſelves.

When Antony arrived in Libya, he ſent Cleopatra from Parætonium into Egypt, and retired to a melancholy deſert, where he wandered up and down, with only two attendants. One of theſe was Ariſtocrates the Greek rhetorician: The other was Lucilius, concerning whom it has been mentioned in another place, that, to favour the eſcape of Brutus at the battle of Philippi, he aſſumed his name, and ſuffered himſelf to be taken. Antony ſaved him, and he was ſo grateful, that he attended him to the laſt.

When Antony was informed that he who commanded his troops in Libya was gone over to the enemy, he attempted to lay violent hands on himſelf: but he was prevented by his friends, who conveyed him to Alexandria, where he found Cleopatra engaged in a very bold enterprize.

Between the Red Sea and the Egyptian, there is an Iſthmus which divides Aſia from Africa, and which, in the narroweſt part, is about three hundred furlongs in breadth. Cleopatra had formed a deſign of drawing her gallies over this part into the Red Sea, and purpoſed with all her wealth and forces to ſeek ſome remote country, where ſhe might neither be reduced to ſlavery, nor involved in war. However, the

first gallies that were carried over, being burnt by the Arabians of Petra *, and Antony not knowing that his land-forces were dispersed, she gave up this enterprize, and began to fortify the avenues of her kingdom. Antony in the mean time forsook the city and the society of his friends, and retired to a small house which he had built himself near Pharos, on a mound he had cast up in the sea. In this place, sequestered from all commerce with mankind, he affected to live like Timon, because there was a resemblance in their fortunes. He had been deserted by his friends, and their ingratitude had put him out of humour with his own species.

This Timon was a citizen of Athens, and lived about the time of the Peloponnesian war, as appears from the comedies of Aristophanes and Plato, in which he is exposed as the hater of mankind. Yet, though he hated mankind in general, he caressed the bold and impudent boy Alcibiades, and being asked the reason of this by Apemantus, who expressed some surprize at it, he answered, it was because he foresaw that he would plague the people of Athens. Apemantus was the only one he admitted to his society, and he was his friend in point of principle. At the feast of sacrifices for the dead, these two dined by themselves, and when Apemantus observed that the feast was excellent, Timon answered, "It would be so if you were not here." Once in an assembly of the people, he mounted the rostrum, and the novelty of the thing occasioned an universal silence and expectation, at length he said, "People of Athens, there "is a fig-tree in my yard, on which many worthy citizens "have hanged themselves; and as I have determined to "build upon the spot, I thought it necessary to give this "public notice, that such as choose to have recourse to this "tree for the aforesaid purpose, may repair to it before it "is cut down." He was buried at Halæ near the sea, and the water surrounded his tomb in such a manner, that he was even then inaccessible to mankind. The following epitaph is inscribed on his monument:

At last, I've bid the knaves farewel:
Ask not my name——But go—to hell.

It is said that he wrote this epitaph himself. That which is commonly repeated, was written by Callimachus.

My

* Dion tells us, that the vessels which were burnt were not those that were drawn over the Isthmus, but some that had been built on that side. Lib. 51.

My name is Timon: knaves begone!
Curſe me, but come not near my ſtone!

These are ſome of the many anecdotes we have concerning Timon.

Candidus himſelf brought Antony news of the defection of his army. Soon after, he heard that Herod of Judea was gone over to Cæſar with ſome legions and cohorts, that ſeveral other powers had deſerted his intereſt, and, in ſhort, that he had no foreign aſſiſtance to depend upon. None of theſe things, however, diſturbed him; for, at once abandoning his hopes and his cares, he left his Timonian retreat, and returned to Alexandria; where, in the palace of Cleopatra, he once more entertained the citizens with his uſual feſtivity and munificence. He gave the *toga virilis* to Antyllus, his ſon by Fulvia, and admitted Cleopatra's ſon by Cæſar into the order of young men. The entertainments on this occaſion were infinitely pompous and magnificent, and laſted many days.

Antony and Cleopatra had before eſtabliſhed a ſociety called the *Inimitable Livers*, of which they were members; but they now inſtituted another by no means inferior in ſplendor or luxury, called *The Companions in Death*. Their friends were admitted into this, and the time paſſed in mutual treats and diverſions. Cleopatra, at the ſame time, was making a collection of poiſonous drugs, and being deſirous to know which was leaſt painful in the operation, ſhe tried them on the capital convicts. Such poiſons as were quick in their operation ſhe found to be attended with violent pain and convulſions; ſuch as were milder were ſlow in their effect: ſhe, therefore, applied herſelf to the examination of venomous creatures, and cauſed different kinds of them to be applied to different perſons under her own inſpection. Theſe experiments ſhe repeated daily, and at length ſhe found that the bite of the aſp was the moſt eligible kind of death; for it brought on a gradual kind of lethargy, in which the face was covered with a gentle ſweat, and the ſenſes ſunk eaſily into ſtupefaction: and thoſe who were thus affected ſhewed the ſame uneaſineſs at being diſturbed or awaked, that people do in the profoundeſt natural ſleep *.

They both ſent ambaſſadors to Cæſar in Aſia. Cleopatra requeſted Egypt for her children, and Antony only petitioned

* *Aſpis ſomniculoſa.* Siſen.

tioned that he might be permitted to live as a private man in Egypt, or if that were too much, that he might retire to Athens. Deserted as they were by almost all their friends, and hardly knowing in whom to confide, they were forced to send Euphronius, their childrens' tutor, on this embassy. Alexis of Laodicea, who, by means of Timogenes, became acquainted with Antony at Rome, a man of great skill in the Greek learning, and one of Cleopatra's chief agents in keeping Antony from Octavia, he had before despatched to Judea to detain Herod in his interest. This man gave up Antony, and, relying on Herod's interest, had the confidence to appear before Cæsar. The interest of Herod, however, did not save him; for he was immediately carried in chains into his own country, and there put to death. Thus Antony had, at least, the satisfaction of seeing him punished for his perfidy.

Cæsar absolutely rejected Antony's petition; but he answered Cleopatra, that she might expect every favour from him, provided she either took off Antony, or banished him her dominions. At the same time he sent Thyreus * to her, who was one of his freedmen, and whose address was not unlikely to carry his point, particularly as he came from a young conqueror to the court of a vain and ambitious queen, who had still the highest opinion of her personal charms †. As this ambassador was indulged with audiences longer and more frequent than usual, Antony grew jealous, and having first ordered him to be whipped, he sent him back to Cæsar with letters, wherein he informed him, that he had been provoked by the insolence of his freedman at a time when his misfortunes made him but too prone

* Dion calls him Thyrsus. Antony and Cleopatra sent other ambassadors to Cæsar with offers of considerable treasures, and last of all Antony sent his son Antyllus with large sums of gold. Cæsar, with that meanness, which made a part of his character, took the gold, but granted him none of his requests. Fearing, however, that despair might put Antony upon the resolution of carrying the war into Spain or Gaul, or provoke him to burn the wealth that Cleopatra had been amassing, he sent this Thyreus to Alexandria.

† Dion says, that Thyreus was instructed to make use of the softest address, and to insinuate that Cæsar was captivated with her beauty. The object of this measure was to prevail on her to take off Antony, while she was flattered with the prospect of obtaining the Conqueror.

prone to anger. "However," added he, "you have a "freedman of mine, Hipparchus, in your power, and if it "will be any ſatisfaction to you, uſe him in the ſame man- "ner." Cleopatra, that ſhe might make ſome amends for her indiſcretion, behaved to him afterwards with great tenderneſs and reſpect. She kept her birth-day in a manner ſuitable to their unhappy circumſtances; but his was celebrated with ſuch magnificence, that many of the gueſts who came poor, returned wealthy.

After Antony's overthrow, Agrippa wrote ſeveral letters to Cæſar to inform him, that his preſence was neceſſary at Rome. This put off the war for ſome time; but as ſoon as the winter was over, Cæſar marched againſt Antony by the route of Syria, and ſent his lieutenants on the ſame buſineſs into Africa. When Peluſium was taken, it was rumoured that Seleucus had delivered up the place with the connivance or conſent of Cleopatra: whereupon, the queen, in order to juſtify herſelf, gave up the wife and children of Seleucus into the hands of Antony. Cleopatra had erected near the temple of Iſis ſome monuments of extraordinary ſize and magnificence. To theſe ſhe removed her treaſure, her gold, ſilver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory, and cinnamon, together with a large quantity of flax, and a number of torches. Cæſar was under ſome apprehenſions about this immenſe wealth, leſt, upon ſome ſudden emergency, ſhe ſhould ſet fire to the whole. For this reaſon he was continually ſending meſſengers to her with aſſurances of gentle and honourable treatment, while in the mean time he haſtened to the city with his army.

When he arrived he encamped near the Hippodrome; upon which Antony made a briſk ſally, routed the cavalry, drove them back into their trenches, and returned to the city with the complacency of a conqueror. As he was going to the palace he met Cleopatra, whom, armed as he was, he kiſſed without ceremony, and at the ſame time he recommended to her favour a brave ſoldier, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the engagement. She preſented the ſoldier with a cuiraſs and helmet of gold, which he took, and the ſame night went over to Cæſar. After this, Antony challenged Cæſar to fight him in ſingle combat, but Cæſar only anſwered, that *Antony might think of many other ways to end his life*. Antony, therefore, concluding that he could not die more honourable than in battle, determined to at-

tack

tack Cæſar at the ſame time both by ſea and land. The night preceding the execution of this deſign, he ordered his ſervants at ſupper to render him their beſt ſervices that evening, and fill the wine round plentifully; for the day following they might belong to another maſter, whilſt he lay extended on the ground, no longer of conſequence either to them or to himſelf. His friends were affected, and wept to hear him talk thus; which when he perceived, he encouraged them by aſſurances, that his expectations of a glorious victory were at leaſt equal to thoſe of an honourable death. At the dead of night, when univerſal ſilence reigned through the city, a ſilence that was deepened by the awful thought of the enſuing day, on a ſudden was heard the ſound of muſical inſtruments, and a noiſe which reſembled the exclamations of Bacchanals. This tumultuous proceſſion ſeemed to paſs through the whole city, and to go out at the gate which led to the enemy's camp. Thoſe who reflected on this prodigy, concluded that Bacchus, the god whom Antony affected to imitate, had then forſaken him.

As ſoon as it was light, he led his infantry out of the city, and poſted them on a riſing ground, from whence he ſaw his fleet advance towards the enemy. There he ſtood waiting for the event; but as ſoon as the two fleets met, they hailed each other with their oars in a very friendly manner, (Antony's fleet making the firſt advances) and ſailed together peaceably towards the city. This was no ſooner done, than the cavalry deſerted him in the ſame manner, and ſurrendered to Cæſar. His infantry were routed; and as he retired to the city, he exclaimed that Cleopatra had betrayed him to thoſe with whom he was fighting only for her ſake.

The unhappy queen, dreading the effects of his anger, fled to her monument, and having ſecured it as much as poſſible with bars and bolts, ſhe gave orders that Antony ſhould be informed ſhe was dead. Believing the information to be true, he cried, "Antony, why doſt thou delay? "What is life to thee, when it is taken from her, for whom "alone thou couldſt wiſh to live?" He then went to his chamber, and opening his coat of mail, he ſaid, "I am "not diſtreſſed, Cleopatra, that thou art gone before me, "for I ſhall ſoon be with thee; but I grieve to think that "I who have been ſo diſtinguiſhed a general, ſhould be "inferior in magnanimity to a woman." He was then

 attended

attended by a faithful ſervant, whoſe name was *Eros*. He had engaged this ſervant to kill him, whenever he ſhould think it neceſſary, and he now demanded that ſervice. Eros drew his ſword, as if he deſigned to kill him; but, ſuddenly turning about, he ſlew himſelf, and fell at his maſter's feet! "This, Eros, was greatly done," ſaid Antony; "thy heart would not permit thee to kill thy maſter, "but thou haſt taught him what to do by thy example." He then plunged his ſword into his bowels, and threw himſelf on a couch that ſtood by. The wound, however, was not ſo deep as to cauſe immediate death; and the blood ſtopping as he lay on the couch, he came to himſelf, and intreated thoſe who ſtood by to put him out of his pain. They all fled nevertheleſs, and left him to his cries and torments, till Diomedes, ſecretary to Cleopatra, came with her requeſt, that he would come to her in the monument. When Antony found that ſhe was ſtill living, it gave him freſh ſpirits, and he ordered his ſervants to take him up. Accordingly they carried him in their arms to the door of the monument. Cleopatra would not ſuffer the door to be opened, but a cord being let down from a window, Antony was faſtened to it, and ſhe, with her two women, all that were admitted into the monument, drew him up. Nothing, as they who were preſent obſerved, could poſſibly be more affecting than that ſpectacle. Antony, covered with blood, and in the agonies of death, hoiſted up by the rope, and ſtretching out his hands to Cleopatra, while he was ſuſpended, for a conſiderable time, in the air! For it was with the greateſt difficulty they drew him up, though Cleopatra herſelf exerted all her ſtrength, ſtraining every nerve, and diſtorting every feature with the violence of the effort; while thoſe who ſtood below endeavoured to animate and encourage her, and ſeemed to partake in all the toil, and all the emotions that ſhe felt. When ſhe had drawn him up, and laid him on a bed, as ſhe ſtood over him, ſhe rent her clothes, beat and wounded her breaſt, and wiping the blood from his disfigured countenance, ſhe called him her lord, her emperor, her huſband! Her whole ſoul was abſorbed in his misfortunes; and ſhe ſeemed totally to have forgot that ſhe had any miſeries of her own. Antony endeavoured to ſoothe her as well as he was able, and called for wine; either becauſe he was thirſty, or becauſe he thought it might ſooner put him out of his pain. When



he

he had drank, he advised her to consult her own affairs and her safety, so far as might be consistent with honour, and to place her confidence in Proculeius rather than in the other friends of Cæsar. " As to himself," he said, " that " she ought rather to rejoice in the remembrance of his past " happiness, than to bewail his present misfortunes; since " in his life he had been illustrious, and was not inglorious " in his death. He had conquered like a Roman, and it " was only by a Roman that he was conquered." A little before he expired, Proculeius arrived from Cæsar: For after Antony had stabbed himself, and was conveyed to Cleopatra, Dercetæus, one of his guards, privately carried off his bloody sword, and shewed it to Cæsar. When Cæsar beheld this token of Antony's death, he retired to the inner part of his tent, and shed some tears in remembrance of a man who had been his relation, his colleague in government, and his associate in so many battles and important affairs *. He then called his friends together, and read the letters which had passed between him and Antony, wherein it appeared that, though Cæsar had still written in a rational and equitable manner, the answers of Antony were insolent and contemptuous. After this, he despatched Proculeius with orders to take Cleopatra alive, if it were possible, for he was extremely solicitous to save the treasures in the monument, which would so greatly add to the glory of his triumph. However, she refused to admit him into the monument, and would only speak to him through the bolted gate. The substance of this conference was, that Cleopatra made a requisition of the kingdom for her children, while Proculeius, on the other hand, encouraged her to trust every thing to Cæsar.

After he had reconnoitred the place, he sent an account of it to Cæsar; upon which Gallus was despatched to confer with Cleopatra. The thing was thus concerted: Gallus went up to the gate of the monument, and drew Cleopatra into conversation, while, in the mean time, Proculeius applied a ladder to the window, where the women had taken

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* This retirement of Cæsar was certainly an affectation of concern. The death of Antony had been an invariable object with him. He was too cowardly to think himself safe while he lived; and to expose his weakness by reading his letters the moment he was informed of his death, was certainly no proof that he felt even then any tenderness for his memory.

in Antony; and having got in with two servants, he immediately made for the place where Cleopatra was in conference with Gallus. One of her women discovered him, and immediately screamed aloud, "Wretched Cleopatra, "you are taken alive." She turned about, and, seeing Proculeius, the same instant attempted to stab herself; for to this intent she always carried a dagger about with her. Proculeius, however, prevented her, and, expostulating with her, as he held her in his arms, he intreated her not to be so injurious to herself or to Cæsar;—that she would not deprive so humane a prince of the glory of his clemency, or expose him by her distrust to the imputation of treachery or cruelty. At the same time, he took the dagger from her, and shook her clothes, lest she should have poison concealed about her. Cæsar also sent his freedman Epaphroditus with orders to treat her with the greatest politeness, but, by all means, to bring her alive.

Cæsar entered Alexandria conversing with Arius the philosopher; and that he might do him honour before the people, he led him by the hand. When he entered the Gymnasium, he ascended a tribunal which had been erected for him, and gave assurances to the citizens, who prostrated themselves before him, that the city should not be hurt. He told them he had different motives for this. In the first place, it was built by Alexander; in the next place, he admired it for its beauty and magnitude; and, lastly, he would spare it, were it but for the sake of his friend Arius, who was born there. Cæsar gave him the high honour of this appellation, and pardoned many at his request. Amongst these was Philostratus, one of the most acute and eloquent sophists of his time. This man, without any right, pretended to be a follower of the academics; and Cæsar, from a bad opinion of his morals, rejected his petition: Upon which the sophist followed Arius up and down in a mourning cloak, with a long white beard, crying constantly,

"The wise, if really such, will save the wise."

Cæsar heard and pardoned him, not so much out of favour, as to save Arius from the impertinence and envy he might incur on his account.

Antyllus, the eldest son of Antony by Fulvia, was betrayed by his tutor Theodorus and put to death. While the

the ſoldiers were beheading him, the tutor ſtole a jewel of conſiderable value, which he wore about his neck, and concealed it in his girdle. When he was charged with it, he denied the fact; but the jewel was found upon him, and he was crucified. Cæſar appointed a guard over Cleopatra's children and their governors, and allowed them an honourable ſupport. Cæſario, the reputed ſon of Cæſar the dictator, had been ſent by his mother, with a conſiderable ſum of money, through Æthiopia into India. But Rhodon, his governor, a man of the ſame principles with Theodorus, perſuading him that Cæſar would certainly make him king of Egypt, prevailed on him to turn back. While Cæſar was deliberating how he ſhould diſpoſe of him, Arius is ſaid to have obſerved, that there ought not, by any means, to be too many Cæſars. However, ſoon after the death of Cleopatra, he was ſlain.

Many conſiderable princes begged the body of Antony, that they might have the honour of giving it burial; but Cæſar would not take it from Cleopatra, who interred it with her own hands, and performed the funeral rites with great magnificence; for ſhe was allowed to expend what ſhe thought proper on the occaſion. The exceſs of her affliction, and the inflammation of her breaſt, which was wounded by the blows ſhe had given it in her anguiſh, threw her into a fever. She was pleaſed to find an excuſe in this for abſtaining from food, and hoped, by this means, to die without interruption. The phyſician, in whom ſhe placed her principal confidence, was Olympus; and, according to his ſhort account of theſe tranſactions, ſhe made uſe of his advice in the accompliſhment of her deſign. Cæſar, however, ſuſpected it; and that he might prevail on her to take the neceſſary food and phyſic, he threatened to treat her children with ſeverity. This had the deſired effect, and her reſolution was overborne *.

A few days after, Cæſar himſelf made her a viſit of condolence and conſolation. She was then in an undreſs, and lying negligently on a couch; but when the conqueror entered the apartment, though ſhe had nothing on but a

 ſingle

* Cleopatra certainly poſſeſſed the virtues of fidelity and natural affection in a very eminent degree. She had ſeveral opportunities of betraying Antony, could ſhe have been induced to it either by fear or ambition. Her tenderneſs for her children is always ſuperior to her ſelf-love; and ſhe had a greatneſs of ſoul which Cæſar never knew.

ſingle bed-gown, ſhe aroſe and threw herſelf at his feet. Her face was out of figure, her hair in diſorder, her voice trembling, her eyes ſunk, and her boſom bore the marks of the injuries ſhe had done it. In ſhort, her perſon gave you the image of her mind; yet, in this deplorable condition, there were ſome remains of that grace, that ſpirit and vivacity which had ſo peculiarly animated her former charms, and ſtill ſome gleams of her native elegance might be ſeen to wander over her melancholy countenance*.

When Cæſar had replaced her on her couch, and ſeated himſelf by her, ſhe endeavoured to juſtify the part ſhe took againſt him in the war, alleging the neceſſity ſhe was under, and her fear of Antony. But when ſhe found that theſe apologies had no weight with Cæſar, ſhe had recourſe to prayers and intreaties, as if ſhe had been really deſirous of life; and, at the ſame time, ſhe put into his hands an inventory of her treaſure. Seleucus, one of her treaſurers, who was preſent, accuſed her of ſuppreſſing ſome articles in the account; upon which ſhe ſtarted up from her couch, caught him by the hair, and gave him ſeveral blows on the face. Cæſar ſmiled at this ſpirited reſentment, and endeavoured to pacify her: "But how is it to be borne," ſaid ſhe, "Cæſar, if, while even you honour me with a viſit "in my wretched ſituation, I muſt be affronted by one of "my own ſervants? Suppoſing that I have reſerved a few "trinkets, they were by no means intended as ornaments "for my own perſon in theſe miſerable fortunes, but as "little preſents for Octavia and Livia, by whoſe good "offices I might hope to find favour with you." Cæſar was not diſpleaſed to hear this, becauſe he flattered himſelf that ſhe was willing to live. He, therefore, aſſured her, that, whatever ſhe had reſerved, ſhe might diſpoſe of at her pleaſure; and that ſhe might, in every reſpect, depend on the moſt honourable treatment. After this he took his leave, in confidence that he had brought her to his purpoſe; but ſhe deceived him.

There

* Dion gives a more pompous account of her reception of Cæſar. She received him, he tells us, in a magnificent apartment, lying on a ſplendid bed, in a mourning habit, which peculiarly became her; that ſhe had ſeveral pictures of Julius Cæſar placed near her; and ſome letters ſhe had received from him in her boſom. The converſation turned on the ſame ſubject; and her ſpeech on the occaſion is recorded. Dion, l. 54.

There was in Cæsar's train a young nobleman, whose name was Cornelius Dolabella. He was smitten with the charms of Cleopatra, and having engaged to communicate to her every thing that passed, he sent her private notice that Cæsar was about to return into Syria, and that, within three days, she would be sent away with her children. When she was informed of this, she requested of Cæsar permission to make her last oblations to Antony. This being granted, she was conveyed to the place where he was buried; and kneeling at his tomb, with her women, she thus addressed the manes of the dead: "It is not long, my "Antony, since with these hands I buried thee. Alas! they "then were then free; but thy Cleopatra is now a prisoner, "attended by a guard, lest, in the transports of her grief, "she should disfigure this captive body, which is reserved "to adorn the triumph over thee. These are the last offer-"ings, the last honours she can pay thee; for she is now "to be conveyed to a distant country. Nothing could part "as while we lived; but in death we are to be divided. "Thou, though a Roman, liest buried in Egypt; and I, "an Egyptian, must be interred in Italy, the only favour "I shall receive from thy country. Yet, if the gods of "Rome have power or mercy left, (for surely those of "Egypt have forsaken us) * let them not suffer me to be "led in living triumph to thy disgrace! No!—hide me, "hide me with thee in the grave; for life, since thou hast "left it, has been misery to *me*."

Thus the unhappy queen bewailed her misfortunes; and, after she had crowned the tomb with flowers, and kissed it, she ordered her bath to be prepared. When she had bathed, she sat down to a magnificent supper; soon after which, a peasant came to the gate with a small basket. The guards inquired what it contained; and the man who brought it, putting by the leaves which lay uppermost, shewed them a parcel of figs. As they admired their size and beauty, he

 smiled

* It was the opinion of the ancients, that the gods forsook the vanquished. Thus *Virgil*:

> Excessère omnes, adytis arisque relictis,
> Dii, quibus imperium hoc steterat. Æn. xi.

And *Tacitus*,

> Alieni jam imperii deos.

ſmiled and bade them take ſome; but they refuſed, and, not ſuſpecting that the baſket contained any thing elſe, it was carried in. After ſupper Cleopatra ſent a letter to Cæſar, and, ordering every body out of the monument, except her two women, ſhe made faſt the door. When Cæſar opened the letter, the plaintive ſtyle in which it was written, and the ſtrong requeſt that ſhe might be buried in the ſame tomb with Antony, made him ſuſpect her deſign. At firſt he was for haſting to her himſelf, but he changed his mind, and deſpatched others *. Her death, however, was ſo ſudden, that though they who were ſent ran the whole way, alarmed the guards with their apprehenſions, and immediately broke open the doors, they found her quite dead †, lying on her golden bed, and dreſſed in all her royal ornaments. Iras, one of her women, lay dead at her feet, and Charmion, hardly able to ſupport herſelf, was adjuſting her miſtreſs's diadem. On of Cæſar's meſſengers ſaid angrily, "Charmion, was this well done?" "Perfectly well," ſaid ſhe, "and worthy a deſcendant of the kings of Egypt." She had no ſooner ſaid this, than ſhe fell down dead.

It is related by ſome that an aſp was brought in amongſt the figs, and hid under the leaves; and that Cleopatra had ordered it ſo that ſhe might be bit without ſeeing it; that, however, upon removing the leaves, ſhe perceived it, and ſaid, "This is what I wanted." Upon which ſhe immediately held out her arm to it. Others ſay, that the aſp was kept in a water-veſſel, and that ſhe vexed and pricked it with a golden ſpindle till it ſeized her arm. Nothing of this, however, could be aſcertained; for it was reported likewiſe that ſhe carried about with her a certain poiſon in a hollow bodkin that ſhe wore in her hair; yet there was neither any mark of poiſon on her body, nor was there any ſerpent found in the monument, though the track of a reptile was ſaid to have been diſcovered on the ſea-ſands oppoſite to the windows of Cleopatra's apartment. Others, again, have affirmed, that ſhe had two ſmall punctures on her arm, apparently occaſioned by the ſting of the aſp; and

* This is another inſtance of his perſonal cowardice.

† Dion ſays, that Cæſar ordered her to be ſucked by the *Pſylli*, that the poiſon might be drawn out; but it was too late.

and it is clear that Cæſar gave credit to this; for her effigy, which he carried in triumph, had an aſp on the arm *.

Such are the accounts we have of the death of Cleopatra; and though Cæſar was much diſappointed by it, he admired her fortitude, and ordered her to be buried in the tomb of Antony, with all the magnificence due to her quality. Her women, too, were by his orders, interred with great funeral pomp. Cleopatra died at the age of thirty-nine, after having reigned twenty-two years, the fourteen laſt in conjunction with Antony. Antony was fifty-three, ſome ſay fifty-ſix, when he died. His ſtatues were all demoliſhed, but Cleopatra's remained untouched; for Archibius, a friend of hers, gave Cæſar a thouſand talents for their redemption.

Antony left by his three wives ſeven children †, whereof Antyllus, the eldeſt, only was put to death. Octavia took the reſt, and educated them with her own. Cleopatra, his daughter by Cleopatra, was married to Juba, one of the politeſt princes of his time; and Octavia made Antony, his ſon by Fulvia, ſo conſiderable with Cæſar, that, after Agrippa and the ſons of Livia, he was generally allowed to hold the firſt place in his favour. Octavia by her firſt huſband Marcellus, had two daughters and a ſon named Marcellus. One of theſe daughters ſhe married to Agrippa; and the ſon married a daughter of Cæſar's. But as he died ſoon after, and Octavia obſerving that her brother was at a loſs whom he ſhould adopt in his place, ſhe prevailed on him to give his daughter Julia to Agrippa, though her own daughter muſt neceſſarily be divorced to make way for her. Cæſar and Agrippa having agreed on this point, ſhe took back her daughter and married her to Antony. Of the two daughters that Octavia had by Antony, one was married to Domitius Ænobarbus, and the other, Antonia, ſo much celebrated for her beauty and virtue, married Druſus, the ſon of Livia, and ſon-in-law to Cæſar. Of this line came Germanicus and Claudius. Claudius was afterwards

* This may be a matter of doubt. There would, of courſe, be an aſp on the diadem of the effigy, becauſe it was peculiar to the kings of Egypt; and this might give riſe to the report of an aſp being on the arm.

† By *Fulvia*, he had Antyllus and Antony; by *Cleopatra*, he had Cleopatra, Ptolemy, and Alexander; and by *Octavia*, Antonia, *major* and *minor*.

afterwards emperor; and ſo likewiſe was Caius the ſon of Germanicus, who, after a ſhort but infamous reign, was put to death together with his wife and daughter. Agrippina, who had Lucius Domitius by Ænobarbus, was afterwards married to Claudius Cæſar. He adopted Domitius, whom he named Nero Germanicus. This Nero, who was emperor in our times, put his own mother to death, and, by the madneſs of his conduct, went near to ruin the Roman empire. He was the fifth in deſcent from Antony.

# DEMETRIUS AND ANTONY

## COMPARED.

AS Demetrius and Antony both paſſed through a variety of fortune, we ſhall conſider, in the firſt place, their reſpective power and celebrity. Theſe were hereditary to Demetrius; for Antigonus, the moſt powerful of Alexander's ſucceſſors, had reduced all Aſia during his ſon's minority. On the other hand, the father of Antony was, indeed, a man of character, but not of a military character; yet though he had no public influence or reputation to bequeath to his ſon, that ſon did not heſitate to aſpire to the empire of Cæſar; and, without any title either from conſanguinity or alliance, he effectually inveſted himſelf with all that he had acquired: At leaſt, by his own peculiar weight, after he had divided the world into two parts, he took the better for himſelf. By his lieutenants he conquered the Parthians, and drove back the barbarous nations about Caucaſus, as far as the Caſpian ſea. Even the leſs reputable parts of his conduct are ſo many teſtimonies of his greatneſs. The father of Demetrius thought it an honour to marry him to Phila the daughter of Antipater, though there was a diſparity in their years; while Antony's connection with Cleopatra was conſidered as a degrading circumſtance; though Cleopatra, in wealth and magnificence, was ſuperior to all the princes of her time, Arſaces excepted. Thus he had raiſed himſelf to ſuch a pitch of grandeur, that the world in general thought him entitled even to more than he wiſhed.

In

In Demetrius's acquiſition of empire, there was nothing reprehenſible. He extended it only to nations inured to ſlavery, and deſirous of being governed. But the arbitrary power of Antony grew on the execrable policy of a tyrant, who once more reduced to ſlavery a people that had ſhaken off the yoke. Conſequently the greateſt of his actions, his conqueſt of Brutus and Caſſius, is darkened with the inglorious motive of wreſting its liberty from Rome. Demetrius, during his better fortunes, conſulted the liberties of Greece, and removed the garriſons from the cities: while Antony made it his boaſt that he had deſtroyed the aſſertors of his country's freedom in Macedonia.

Antony is praiſed for his liberality and munificence; in which, however, Demetrius is ſo far his ſuperior, that he gave more to his enemies than the former did to his friends. Antony was honoured for allowing a magnificent funeral to Brutus; but Demetrius buried every enemy he had ſlain, and ſent back his priſoners to Ptolemy, not only with their own property, but with preſents.

Both were inſolent in proſperity, and fell with too much eaſe into luxury and indulgence. But we never find Demetrius neglecting his affairs for his pleaſures. In his hours of leiſure, indeed, he had his Lamia, whoſe office it was, like the fairy in the fable, to lull him to ſleep, or amuſe him in his play. When he went to war, his ſpear was not bound about with ivy; his helmet did not ſmell of perfume; he did not come in the foppery of dreſs out of the chambers of the women; the riots of Bacchus and his train were huſhed; and he became, as Euripides ſays, *the miniſter of Mars*. In ſhort, he never loſt a battle through the indulgence of luxury. This could not be ſaid of Antony: As in the pictures of Hercules we ſee Omphale ſtealing his club and his lion's ſkin, ſo Cleopatra frequently diſarmed Antony, and, while he ſhould have been proſecuting the moſt neceſſary expeditions, led him to dancing and dalliance on the ſhores of Canopus and Taphoſiris *. So, likewiſe, as Paris came from battle to the boſom of Helen, and even from the loſs of victory to her bed, Antony threw victory itſelf out of his hands to follow Cleopatra.

Demetrius,

* Strabo mentions this as a romantic place near the ſea, full of rocks, where the young people went to amuſe themſelves. L. xvii.

Demetrius, being under no prohibition of the laws, but following the examples of Philip and Alexander, Lyſimachus and Ptolemy, married ſeveral wives, and treated them all with the greateſt honour. Antony, though it was a thing unheard of amongſt the Romans, had two wives at the ſame time. Beſides, he baniſhed her who was properly his wife, and a citizen, from his houſe, to indulge a foreigner with whom he could have no legal connection. From their marriages, of courſe, one of them found no inconvenience; the other ſuffered the greateſt evils.

In reſpect of their amours, Antony was comparatively pardonable and modeſt. Hiſtorians tell us, that the Athenians turned the dogs out of the citadel, becauſe they had their procreative intercourſe in public. But Demetrius had his courtezans, and diſhonoured the matrons of Athens even in the temple of Minerva. Nay, though cruelty ſeems to be inconſiſtent with ſenſual gratifications, he ſcrupled not to drive the moſt beautiful and virtuous youth in the city to the extremity of death, to avoid his brutal deſigns. In ſhort, Antony, by his amorous indulgences, hurt only himſelf; Demetrius injured others.

With regard to their behaviour to their parents and relations, that of Demetrius is irreproachable; but Antony ſacrificed his uncle to the ſword of Cæſar, that he might be empowered in his turn to cut off Cicero.—A crime the latter was, which could never be made pardonable, had Antony even ſaved and not ſacrificed an uncle by the means! They are both accuſed of perfidy, in that one of them threw Artabazus into priſon; and the other killed Alexander. Antony, however, has ſome apology in this caſe; for he had been abandoned and betrayed by Artabazus in Media. But Demetrius was ſuſpected of laying a falſe accuſation againſt Alexander, and of puniſhing, not the offender, but the injured.

There is this difference, too, in their military operations, that Demetrius gained every victory himſelf, and many of Antony's laurels were won by his lieutenants.

Both loſt their empire by their own fault, but by different means. The former was abandoned by his people; the latter deſerted his, even whilſt they were fighting for him. The fault of Demetrius was, that, by his conduct, he loſt the affection of his army: the fault of Antony, his deſertion and

and neglect of that affection. Neither of them can be approved in their death; but Demetrius much less than Antony; for he suffered himself to fall into the hands of the enemy, and, with a spirit that was truly bestial, endured an imprisonment of three years for nothing but the low indulgences of appetite. There was a deplorable weakness, and many disgraceful circumstances attending the death of Antony; but he effected it at last without falling into the enemy's hands.

# DION.

AS we learn from Simonides, my dear Senecio, that the Trojans were by no means offended at the Corinthians for joining the confederates in the Grecian war, because the family of Glaucus, their own ally, was originally of Corinth, so neither the Greeks nor the Romans have reason to complain of the academy, which has been equally favourable to both. This will appear from the lives of Brutus and Dion; for, as one was the scholar of Plato, and the other educated in his principles, they came like wrestlers from the same Palæstra, to engage in the greatest conflicts. Both by their conduct, in which there was a great similarity, confirmed that observation of their master, that "Power "and fortune must concur with prudence and justice, to "effect any thing great in a political capacity:" But as Hippomachus, the wrestler, said, that he could distinguish his scholars at a distance, though they were only carrying meat from the market; so the sentiments of those who have had a polite education, must have a similar influence on their manners, and give a peculiar grace and propriety to their conduct.

Accident, however, rather than design, gave a similarity to the lives of these two great men; and both were cut off by an untimely death, before they could carry the purposes, which they had pursued with so much labour, into execution. The most singular circumstance attending their death was, that both had a divine warning of it, in the appearance of a frightful spectre. There are those, indeed, who

who ſay, that no man in his ſenſes ever ſaw a ſpectre; that theſe are the deluſive viſions of women and children; or of men whoſe intellects are affected by ſome infirmity of the body; and who believe that their abſurd imaginations are of divine inſpiration. But if Dion and Brutus, men of firm and philoſophic minds, whoſe underſtandings were not affected by any conſtitutional infirmity;—if ſuch men could pay ſo much credit to the appearance of ſpectres, as to give an account of them to their friends, I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould depart from the opinion of the ancients, that men had their evil genii, who diſturbed them with fears, and diſtreſſed their virtue, leſt by a ſteady and uniform purſuit of it, they ſhould hereafter obtain a happier allotment than themſelves *. Theſe things, however, I muſt refer to another occaſion, and in this twelfth book of parallel lives, of which Dion and Brutus are the ſubjects, I ſhall begin with the more ancient.

After Dionyſius the elder had ſeized the government of Sicily, he married the daughter of Hermocrates, a Syracuſan. But as the monarchic power was yet but ill eſtabliſhed, ſhe had the misfortune to be ſo much abuſed in her perſon by an outrageous faction, that ſhe put an end to her life. When Dionyſius was confirmed in his government, he married two wives at the ſame time. One was Doris, a native of Locris; the other Ariſtomache, the daughter of Hipparinus, who was a principal perſon in Syracuſe, and colleague with Dionyſius, when he was firſt appointed general of the Sicilian forces. It is ſaid that he married theſe wives on the ſame day. It is not certain which he enjoyed firſt, but he was impartial in his kindneſs to them; for both attended him at his table, and alternately partook of his bed. As Doris had the diſadvantage of being a foreigner, the Syracuſans ſought every means of obtaining the preference for their countrywoman; but it was more than equivalent to this diſadvantage, that ſhe had the honour of giving Dionyſius his eldeſt ſon. Ariſtomache, on the contrary was a long time barren, though the king was extremely deſirous of having children by her; and put to death the mother of Doris,

* This is perfectly agreeable to the Platonic doctrine of the different orders and diſpoſitions of the *genii*. And as Dion and Brutus were both great enthuſiaſts in Platoniſm, the *ſtrength of their faith* brought their ſpectres before them.

Doris, upon a ſuppoſition that ſhe had prevented her conceptions by potions.

Dion, the brother of Ariſtomache, was well received at court; not only on her account, but from the regard which Dionyſius had for his merit and abilities: and that prince gave his treaſurer an order to ſupply him with whatever money he wanted; but, at the ſame time, to keep an account of what he received.

But whatever the talents and the virtues of Dion might be originally, it is certain that they received the happieſt improvement under the auſpices of Plato. Surely the gods, in mercy to mankind, ſent that divine philoſopher from Italy to Syracuſe, that through the humane influence of his doctrine, the ſpirit of liberty might once more revive, and the inhabitants of that country be reſcued from tyranny *.

Dion ſoon became the moſt diſtinguiſhed of his ſcholars. To the fertility of his genius, and the excellence of his diſpoſition, Plato himſelf has given teſtimony †, and he did the greateſt honour to that teſtimony in his life. For though he had been educated in ſervile principles under a tyrant; though he had been familiarized to dependence on the one hand, and to the indulgence of pomp and luxury, as the greateſt happineſs, on the other; yet he was no ſooner acquainted with that philoſophy which points out the road to virtue, than his whole ſoul caught the enthuſiaſm; and, with the ſimplicity of a young man, who judges of the diſpoſitions of others by his own, he concluded that Plato's lectures would have the ſame effect on Dionyſius: for this reaſon he ſolicited, and at length perſuaded, the tyrant to hear him. When Plato was admitted, the diſcourſe turned on virtue in general. Afterwards they came to fortitude in particular; and Plato made it appear, that tyrants have, of all men, the leaſt pretence to that virtue. Juſtice was the next topic; and when Plato aſſerted the happineſs of the juſt, and the wretched condition of the unjuſt, the tyrant was ſtung; and being unable to anſwer his arguments, he expreſſed his reſentment againſt thoſe who ſeemed to liſten to him with pleaſure. At laſt he was extremely

* Plato, in his ſeventh letter, ſays, "When I explained the principles of philoſophy and humanity to Dion, I little thought that I "was inſenſibly opening a way to the ſubverſion of tyranny!"

† Plato ibid.

extremely exaſperated, and aſked the philoſopher what buſineſs he had in Sicily. Plato anſwered, "That he came "to ſeek an honeſt man."—"And ſo, then," replied the tyrant, "it ſeems you have loſt your labour." Dion was in hopes that his anger would have ended here; but while Plato was haſting to be gone, he conveyed him a-board a galley, in which Pollis, the Lacedemonian, was returning to Greece. Dionyſius urged Pollis either to put Plato to death in his paſſage, or, at leaſt, to ſell him as a ſlave: "For, according to his own maxim," ſaid he, "this man "cannot be unhappy; a juſt man, he ſays, muſt be happy "in a ſtate of ſlavery, as well as in a ſtate of freedom." Pollis, therefore, carried him to Ægina, and ſold him there *. For the people of that place, being at war with the Athenians, had made a decree, that whatever Athenian was taken on their coaſt, he ſhould be ſold. Dion, notwithſtanding, retained his intereſt with Dionyſius, had conſiderable employments, and was ſent ambaſſador to Carthage. Dionyſius had an high eſteem for him, and he, therefore, permitted him to ſpeak his ſentiments with freedom. An inſtance of this we have in the retort he made on the tyrant's ridiculing the government of Gelo, "Gelo," ſaid Dionyſius, "is *(Gelos)* the laughing-ſtock of Sicily." While others admired and applauded this witticiſm, Dion anſwered, "You obtained the crown by being truſted on Gelo's ac-"count, who reigned with great humanity; but you have "reigned in ſuch a manner, that, for your ſake, no "man will be truſted hereafter. Gelo made monarchy "appear the beſt of governments; but you have con-"vinced us that it is the worſt." Dionyſius had three children by Doris, and four by Ariſtomache, whereof two were daughters, Sophroſyne and Areté. The former of theſe was married to his eldeſt ſon, Dionyſius; the latter to his brother Thearides; and after his death, to her uncle Dion. In the laſt illneſs of Dionyſius, Dion would have applied to him in behalf of the children of Ariſtomache, but the phyſicians were beforehand with him. They wanted to ingratiate themſelves with his ſucceſſor; and when he aſked for a ſleeping-doſe, Timæus tells us, they gave him ſo effectual a one, that he awaked no more.

When his ſon Dionyſius came to the throne, in the firſt council that he held, Dion ſpoke with ſo much propriety on the

* For twenty pounds.

the present ſtate of affairs, and on the meaſures which ought to be taken, that the reſt appeared to be mere children in underſtanding. By the freedom of his counſels, he expoſed, in a ſtrong light, the ſlaviſh principles of thoſe, who, through a timorous diſingenuity, adviſed ſuch meaſures as they thought would pleaſe their prince, rather than ſuch as might advance his intereſt. But what alarmed them moſt was the ſteps he propoſed to take with regard to the impending war with Carthage: for he offered either to go in perſon to Carthage, and ſettle an honourable peace with the Carthaginians, or, if the king were rather inclined for war, to fit out and maintain fifty gallies at his own expence.

Dionyſius was pleaſed with the magnificence of his ſpirit; but the courtiers felt that it made them appear little. They agreed that, at all events, Dion was to be cruſhed, and they ſpared no calumny that malice could ſuggeſt. They repreſented to the king, that he certainly meant to make himſelf maſter by ſea, and by that means to obtain the kingdom for his ſiſter's children. There was, moreover, another and an obvious cauſe of their hatred to him, in the reſerve of his manners, and of the ſobriety of his life. They led the young and ill-educated king through every ſpecies of debauchery, the ſhameleſs pandars to his wrong-directed paſſions. Yet while folly rioted, tyranny ſlept: its rage was diſſolved in the ardour of youthful indulgences, as iron is ſoftened in the fire; and that lenity which the Sicilians could not expect from the virtue of their prince, they found in his weakneſs. Thus the reins of that monarchy, which Dionyſius vainly called adamantine, fell gradually, from the looſe and diſſolute hand that held them. This young prince, it is ſaid, would continue the ſcene of intoxication for ninety days without intermiſſion; during which time no ſober perſon was admitted to his court, where all was drunkenneſs and buffoonery, revelry and riot.

Their enmity to Dion, who had no taſte for theſe enjoyments, was a thing of courſe. And, as he refuſed to partake with them in their vices, they reſolved to ſtrip him of his virtues. To theſe they gave the names of ſuch vices as are ſuppoſed in ſome degree to reſemble them. His gravity of manners they called pride; his freedom of ſpeech, inſolence; his declining to join in their licentiouſneſs, contempt. It is true, there was a natural haughtineſs in his deportment;

deportment; and an asperity that was unsociable and difficult of access: so that it is not to be wondered if he found no ready admission to the ears of a young king, already spoiled by flattery. Many, even of his own particular friends, who admired the integrity and generosity of his heart, could not but condemn those forbidding manners, which were so ill adapted to social and political intercourse: and Plato himself, when he wrote to him some time after, warned him, as it were by the spirit of prophecy, *To guard against that austerity which is the companion of solitude* *. However, the necessity of the times, and the feeble state of the monarchy, rendered it necessary for the king, though contrary to his inclination, to retain him in the highest appointments; and this Dion himself very well knew.

As he was willing to impute the irregularities of Dionysius to ignorance and a bad education, he endeavoured to engage him in a course of liberal studies, and to give him a taste for those sciences which have a tendency to moral improvement. By this means he hoped that he should induce him to think of virtue without disgust, and at length to embrace its precepts with pleasure. The young Dionysius was not naturally the worst of princes; but his father being apprehensive that if his mind were improved by science and the conversation of wise and virtuous men, he might some time or other think of depriving him of his kingdom, kept him in close confinement; where, through ignorance and want of other employment, he amused himself with making little chariots, candlesticks, wooden chairs, and tables. His father, indeed, was so suspicious of all mankind, and so wretchedly timorous, that he would not suffer a barber to shave him; but had his hair singed off with a live coal by one of his own attendants. Neither his brother nor his son were admitted into his chamber in their own clothes, but were first stripped and examined by the sentinels, and after that were obliged to put on such clothes as were provided for them. When his brother Leptines was

* ἡ δε αυθαδεια αρημια ξυνοικος. Literally, *Haughtiness lives under the same roof with solitude.* This is towards the end of Plato's fourth letter. It is preceded by a fine political precept, viz. that the complaisance which produces popularity, is the source of the greatest operations in government.

was once describing the situation of a place, he took a spear from one of the guards to trace the plan, upon which Dionysius was extremely offended, and caused the soldier who had given up his spear to be put to death. He was afraid, he said, of the sense and sagacity of his friends; because he knew they must think it more eligible to govern than to obey. He slew Marsyas, whom he had advanced to a considerable military command, merely because Marsyas dreamed that he killed him; for he concluded, that this dream by night was occasioned by some similar suggestion of the day. Yet even this timorous and suspicious wretch was offended with Plato, because he would not allow him to be the most valiant man in the world!

When Dion, as we have before observed, considered that the irregularities of young Dionysius were chiefly owing to his want of education, he exhorted him earnestly to apply himself to study; and by all means to send for Plato, the prince of philosophers, into Sicily. "When he comes," said he, "apply to him without loss of time. Conformed "by his precepts to that divine exemplar of beauty and "perfection, which called the universe from confusion into "order, you will at once secure your own happiness, and "the happiness of your people. The obedience they now "render you through fear, by your justice and moderation "you will improve to a principle of filial duty; and of a "tyrant, you will become a king. Fear and force, and "fleets and armies, are not, as your father called them, "the adamantine chains of government; but that attention, that affection, that respect, which justice and goodness for ever draw after them. These are the milder, "but the stronger bonds of empire. Besides, it is surely a "disgrace for a prince, who in all the circumstances of figure "and appearance is distinguished from the people, not to "rise above them at the same time, in the superiority of his "conversation, and the cultivation of his mind."

As Dion frequently solicited the king on this subject, and occasionally repeated some of Plato's arguments, he conceived at length a violent inclination to hear him discourse. He therefore sent several letters of invitation to him at Athens, which were seconded by the intreaties of Dion. The Pythagorean philosophers in Italy requested at the same time, that he would undertake the direction of this young prince, whose mind was misguided by power, and

reclaim him by the solid counsels of philosophy. Plato, as he owns himself, was ashamed to be a philosopher in theory, and not in practice; and flattering himself that if he could rectify the mind of the prince, he might by the same means remedy the disorders of the kingdom, he yielded to their request.

The enemies of Dion, now fearing an alteration in Dionysius, advised him to recall from exile one Philistus, who was, indeed, a man of learning *, but employed his talents in defence of the despotic policy; and this man they intended to set in opposition to Plato and his philosophy. Philistus, from the beginning, had been a principal instrument in promoting the monarchic government, and kept the citadel, of which he was governor, a long time for that party. It is said that he had a private commerce with the mother of the elder Dionysius, and that the tyrant himself was not ignorant of it. Be this as it may, Leptines, who had two daughters by a married woman, whom he had debauched, gave one of them in marriage to Philistus: but this being done without consulting Dionysius, he was offended; imprisoned Leptines's mistress, and banished Philistus. The latter fled to his friends at Adria, where, it is probable, he composed the greatest part of his history; for he did not return to Sicily during the reign of that Dionysius. After his death, as we have observed, Dion's enemies occasioned him to be recalled. His arbitrary principles were suitable for their purpose, and he began to exercise them immediately on his return.

At the same time calumnies and impeachments against Dion, were, as usual, brought to the king. He was accused of holding a private correspondence with Theodoses and Heraclides, for the subversion of the monarchy; and, indeed it is probable, that he entertained some hopes from the arrival of Plato, of lessening the excessive power of Dionysius, or, at least, of making him moderate and equitable in the use of it. Besides, if he continued obstinate, and were not to be reclaimed, he was determined to depose him, and restore the commonwealth to the Syracusans; for he preferred even the popular form of government to an absolute monarchy, where a well-regulated aristocry could not be procured.

Such

* He wrote the histories of Egypt, Sicily, and the reign of Dionysius. Cicero calls him the petty Thucydides; *Pusillus Thucidides.*

Such was the ſtate of affairs when Plato came into Sicily. At firſt he was received with the greateſt appearance of kindneſs, and he was conveyed from the coaſt in one of the king's moſt ſplendid chariots. Even Dionyſius himſelf ſacrificed to the gods in acknowledgment of his ſafe arrival, and of the honour and happineſs they had by that means conferred on his kingdom. The people had the greateſt hopes of a ſpeedy reformation. They obſerved an unuſual decorum in the entertainments at court, and a ſobriety in the conduct of the courtries; while the king anſwered all to whom he gave audience, in a very obliging manner. The deſire of learning and the ſtudy of philoſophy were become general; and the ſeveral apartments of the royal palace were like ſo many ſchools of geometricians, full of the duſt in which the ſtudents deſcribe their mathematical figures. Not long after this, at a ſolemn ſacrifice in the citadel, when the herald prayed, as uſual, for the long continuance of the government, Dionyſius is ſaid to have cried, "How "long will you continue to curſe me?" This was an inexpreſſible mortification to Philiſtus and his party: if Plato, ſaid they, has already made ſuch a change in the king, his influence in time will be irreſiſtible.

They now no longer made their attacks on Dion ſeparately, or in private. They united in exclaiming againſt him, that he had ſaſcinated the king with the deluſions of eloquence and philoſophy, in order to obtain the kingdom for his ſiſter's children. They repreſented it as a matter of the greateſt indignity, that after the whole force of the Athenians had vainly invaded Sicily, and were vanquiſhed and deſtroyed, without ſo much as being able to take Syracuſe, they ſhould now, by means of one ſophiſt, overturn the empire of Dionyſius. It was with indignation they beheld the deluded monarch prevailed on by his inſinuations to part with his guard of ten thouſand ſpearmen, to give up a navy of four hundred galleys, to diſband an army of ten thouſand horſe, and many times that number of foot, in order that he might purſue an ideal happineſs in the academy, and amuſe himſelf with theorems of geometry, while the ſubſtantial enjoyments of wealth and power were left to Dion and the children of Ariſtomache.

By means of theſe ſuggeſtions Dion firſt incurred the ſuſpicion, and ſoon after the open diſpleaſure of Dionyſius. A letter of his was likewiſe intercepted, and privately carried

carried to the king. It was addreſſed to the Carthaginian agents, and directed them not to have their audience of the king concerning the concluſion of the peace, unleſs he were preſent, and then every thing ſhould be ſettled as they wiſhed. Timæus informs us, that after Dionyſius had ſhewed this letter to Philiſtus, and conſulted him upon it, he over-reached Dion by a pretence of reconciliation, and told him, that he was deſirous their good underſtanding might be renewed. After this, as he was one day walking alone with him by the wall of the caſtle, near the ſea, he ſhewed him the letter, and accuſed him of conſpiring with the Carthaginians againſt him. When Dion attempted to ſpeak in his own defence, Dionyſius refuſed to hear him; and having forced him on board a veſſel, which lay there for the purpoſe, commanded the ſailors to ſet him aſhore in Italy.

When this was publicly known, it was generally condemned as tyrannical and cruel. The court was in diſtreſs for the ladies of Dion's family; but the citizens received freſh courage from the event: for they were in hopes that the odium, which it would bring upon Dionyſius, and the general diſcontent that his government occaſioned, might contribute to bring about a revolution. Dionyſius perceived this with ſome anxiety, and thinking it neceſſary to pacify the women and the reſt of Dion's friends, he told them, that he was not gone into exile, but only ſent out of the way for a time, that his obſtinacy might not draw upon him a heavier puniſhment. He alſo allowed his friends two ſhips, that they might convey to him, in Peloponneſus, as much of his treaſure, and as many of his ſervants, as they ſhould think fit: for Dion was a man of conſiderable property, and little inferior to the king in wealth or magnificence. The moſt valuable part of his effects, together with preſents from the ladies, and others of his acquaintance, his friends conveyed to him; and the ſplendour of his fortune gained him great reſpect among the Greeks. At the ſame time they conceived a high idea of the power of the tyrant, when an exile from his kingdom could make ſuch an appearance.

Dionyſius now removed Plato into the citadel, under colour of kindneſs; but in reality to ſet a guard upon him, leſt he ſhould follow Dion, and proclaim to the world how injuriouſly he had been treated.

As

As wild beasts become tame and tractable by use, so the tyrant, by frequent conversation with the philosopher, began at last to conceive an affection for him; yet even that affection had something of the tyrant in it; for he required of Plato, in return, that he should exclusively confine his regard and admiration to him. On condition that he would prefer his friendship to that of Dion, he was willing to give up the whole administration into his hands. This extravagant affection gave Plato no small trouble; for it was accompanied with petulance and jealousy, as the love which subsists between the different sexes has its quarrels and reconciliations. He expressed the strongest desire to become Plato's scholar, and to proceed in the study of philosophy; but he expressed it with reluctance in the presence of those who wanted to divert him from his purpose, and seemed as if he was in pursuit of something he ought to be ashamed of.

As a war broke out about this time, he found it necessary to dismiss Plato; but he promised him, before his departure, to recall Dion the ensuing summer: however, he did not keep his promise, but made the war he was engaged in his apology, and remitted to him the produce of his estate. At the same time he desired Plato to acquiesce in his apology, assuring him that he would send for Dion on the commencement of the peace; and he intreated, in the mean while, that Dion would be peaceable, and not say or do any thing that might hurt his character among the Greeks. This Plato endeavoured to effect, by keeping Dion in the academy in pursuit of philosophy.

At Athens, Dion lived with an acquaintance, whose name was Callippus. But a piece of pleasure-ground, which he purchased, he gave, on his departure, to Speusippus, with whom he had most usually conversed. Speusippus, as Timon, in his poems called *Syllis*, informs us was a facetious companion, and had a turn for raillery; and Plato was desirous that Dion's severity of manners might be softened by the pleasantry of his conversation. When Plato exhibited a chorus of boys at Athens *, Dion took upon himself the management, and defrayed the expence. Plato was desirous that this munificence might procure him popularity, and on that account he readily gave up the honour of conducting the affair himself. Dion

* This was a dramatic entertainment, exhibited with great expence and magnificence on the feast of Bacchus.

Dion likewiſe viſited other cities, and converſed with the principal ſtateſmen, by whom he was publicly entertained. In his manners there was now no longer any thing pompous or affected; there was nothing that ſavoured of the diſſolute luxury of a tyrant's court; his behaviour was modeſt, diſcreet, and manly; and his philoſophical diſcourſes were learned and ingenious. This procured him popular favour and public honours; and the Lacedæmonians, without regard to the reſentment of Dionyſius, though at the very time they had received ſuccours from him againſt the Thebans, made him free of their city. We are told that Dion accepted an invitation from Ptœodorus, the Megarenſian, who was a man of conſiderable power and fortune; and when he found his door crowded with people on buſineſs, and that it was difficult to have acceſs to him, he ſaid to his friends, who expreſſed their diſſatisfaction on the occaſion, "Why "ſhould this affront us? we did this, and more than this, "at Syracuſe."

Dion's popularity in Greece ſoon excited the jealouſy of Dionyſius, who therefore ſtopped his remittances, and put his eſtate in the hands of his own ſtewards. However, that his reputation might not ſuffer, through Plato's means, amongſt the philoſophers, he retained a number of learned men in his court; and being deſirous to outſhine them all in diſputation, he frequently was under a neceſſity of introducing, without the leaſt propriety, the arguments he had learnt from Plato. He now wiſhed for that philoſopher again, and repented that he had ſo ill availed himſelf of his inſtructions. Like a tyrant, therefore, whoſe deſires, however extravagant, are immediately to be complied with, he was violently bent on recalling him. To effect this, he thought of every expedient, and at length prevailed on Archytas, and the reſt of the Pythagorean philoſophers, to pledge themſelves for the performance of his promiſes, and to perſuade him to return to Sicily; for it was Plato that firſt introduced thoſe philoſophers to Dionyſius.

On their part, they ſent Archidemus to Plato, and Dionyſius, at the ſame time, ſent ſome gallies with ſeveral of his friends to join in their requeſt. The tyrant likewiſe wrote to him, and told him, in plain terms, that Dion muſt expect no favour from him, if Plato ſhould not come into Sicily; but upon his arrival, he might depend on

on every thing he desired. Dion was also solicited by his sister and wife to prevail with Plato to gratify the tyrant, that he might no longer have an apology for the severity of his treatment. Plato, therefore, as he says himself, set sail the third time for Sicily:

To brave Charybdis' dreadful gulph once more * !

His arrival was not only a satisfaction to Dionysius, but to all Sicily; the inhabitants of which did not fail to implore the gods, that Plato might overcome Philistus, and that the tyranny might expire under the influence of his philosophy. Plato was in high favour with the women in particular, and with Dionysius he had such credit as no other person could boast; for he was allowed to come to him without being searched. When Aristippus, the Cyrenean, observed, that the king frequently offered Plato money, and that Plato as constantly refused it: he said, "That Dionysius was liberal without danger of exhausting "his treasury: for to those who wanted, and would take "money, he was sparing in his offers; but profuse where "he knew it would be refused."

After the first civilities were over, Plato took an apportunity to mention Dion; but the tyrant put him off, till, at last, expostulations and animosities took place. These, however, Dionysius was industrious to conceal, and endeavoured to bring over to Plato from the interest of Dion by repeated favours and studied civilities. The philosopher, on the other hand, did not immediately publish his perfidy, but dissembled his resentment. While things were thus circumstanced, Helicon of Cyzicus, one of Plato's followers, foretold an eclipse of the sun; and as it happened, according to his prediction, the king, in admiration of his learning, rewarded him with a talent of silver. Upon this Aristippus, jesting among the rest of the philosophers, told them, he had something extraordinary, likewise, to prognosticate. Being intreated to make it known, "I foresee," said he, "that in a short time, "there will be a quarrel between Dionysius and Plato." Soon after this, Dionysius sold Dion's estate, and converted the money to his own use. Plato was removed from his apartment in the palace-gardens, and placed within the purlieus of the guards, who had long hated,

 and

* Odys. l. xii.

and even fought to kill him, on a fuppofition that he advifed the tyrant to lay down his government, and difband his army.

Archytas, who had engaged for Plato's fafety, when he underftood his danger, fent a galley to demand him; and the tyrant, to palliate his enmity, previous to his departure, made pompous entertainments. At one of them, however, he could not help faying, "I fuppofe, Plato, "when you return to your companions in the academy, "my faults will often be the fubject of your conver-fa-"tion." "I hope," anfwered Plato, "we fhall never be "fo much at a lofs for fubjects in the academy, as to talk "of you." Such are the circumftances which have been mentioned concerning Plato's departure; but they are not perfectly confiftent with Plato's own account.

Dion being offended, not only with thefe things, but with fome intelligence he had before received concerning his wife, which is alluded to in Plato's letter to Dionyfius, openly declared himfelf his enemy. The affair was this. Plato, on his return to Greece, was defired by Dionyfius privately to confult Dion, whether he would be averfe to his wife's marrying another man; for there was a report, whether true, or the invention of his enemies, that his matrimonial ftate was not agreeable to him, and that there was a coolnefs betwixt him and Arete. After Plato had confulted Dion on the affair, he wrote to Dionyfius, and though he fpoke in plain terms of other matters, he mentioned this in a manner that could only be intelligible to the king. He told him, that he had talked with Dion on the bufinefs, and that he would certainly refent it if any fuch attempt were made.

While any profpect of an accommodation remained, Dionyfius took no further fteps in the affair; but when that profpect was gone, and Plato once more had left Sicily in difpleafure, he compelled Arete to marry Timocrates; and in this inftance, he fell fhort even of the juftice and lenity of his father. When Philoxenus, who had married his fifter Thefte, was declared his enemy, and fled through fear out of Sicily, Dionyfius fent for his fifter, and reproached her with being privy to her hufband's efcape, without letting him know it. Thefte anfwered, without fear or hefitation, "Do you think me, "Dionyfius, fo bad a wife, or fo weak a woman, that "if I had known of my hufband's flight, I would not "have

" have accompanied him, and ſhared in the worſt of his " fortunes? Indeed I was ignorant of it. And I aſſure " you, that I ſhould eſteem it a higher honour to be called " the wife of Philoxenus the exile, than the ſiſter of Diony- " ſius the tyrant." The king, it is ſaid, admired her ſpirited anſwer: and the Syracuſans honoured her ſo much, that ſhe retained her princely retinue after the diſſolution of the tyranny; and the citizens, by public decree, attended the ſolemnity of her funeral. This is a digreſſion, but it may have its uſe.

Dion, now, thought of nothing but war. Plato, however, was againſt it; partly on account of the hoſpitable favours he had received from Dionyſius, and partly becauſe of the advanced age of Dion. Speuſippus, and the reſt of his friends, on the other hand, encouraged him to reſcue from ſlavery his native Sicily, that ſtretched forth her hands towards him, and would certainly receive him with every expreſſion of joy. Speuſippus, when he attended Plato into Sicily, had mixed more with the people, and learnt their ſentiments with regard to the government. At firſt, indeed, they were reſerved, and ſuſpected him for an emiſſary of the tyrant's: but by degrees, he obtained their confidence. In ſhort, it was the voice, the prayer of the people, that Dion would come, though without either army or navy, to their relief, and lend them only his name and his preſence againſt the tyrant. Dion was encouraged by theſe repreſentations; and the more effectually to conceal his intentions, he raiſed what forces he was able by means of his friends. He was aſſiſted in this by many ſtateſmen and philoſophers, amongſt whom was Endemus, the Cyprian, (on occaſion of whoſe death Ariſtotle wrote his dialogue on the ſoul) and Timonides, the Leucadian. Theſe engaged in his intereſt Miltas the Theſſalian, who was ſkilled in divination, and had been his fellow-academician. But of all thoſe whom the tyrant had baniſhed, which were no fewer than a thouſand, no more than twenty-five gave in their names for the ſervice. The reſt, for want of ſpirit, would not engage in the cauſe. The general rendezvous was in the iſland of Zacynthus; and here, when the little army was aſſembled, it did not amount to eight hundred men *. But they were men who had ſignalized themſelves



* Diodorus enlarges with great propriety on the extraordinary ſpirit and ſucceſs of this enterprize. L. xvi.

themſelves in the greateſt engagements; they were in perfect diſcipline, and inured to hardſhip; in courage and conduct they had no ſuperiors in the army: in ſhort, they were ſuch men as were likely to ſerve the cauſe of Dion, in animating, by their example, thoſe who came to his ſtandard in Sicily.

Yet theſe men, when they underſtood that they were to be led againſt Dionyſius, were diſheartened, and condemned the raſh reſentment of Dion; the conſequence of which they looked upon as certain ruin. Nor were they leſs offended with their commanders, and thoſe who had enliſted them, becauſe they had concealed the deſign of the ſervice. But when Dion, in a public ſpeech, after ſhewing them the feeble ſtate of Dionyſius's government, told them, that he conſidered them rather as ſo many officers whom he carried to head the people of Sicily, already prepared to revolt, than as private men;—and when Alcimenes, who, in birth and reputation, was the principal man in Achaia, had concurred in the addreſs of Dion, and joined in the expedition, they then were ſatisfied.

It was now about midſummer, the Eteſian winds* prevailed at ſea, and the moon was at the full, when Dion prepared a magnificent ſacrifice to Apollo, and marched in proceſſion to the temple, with his men under arms. After the ſacrifice, he gave them a feaſt in the race-ground of the Zacynthians. They were aſtoniſhed at the quantity of gold and ſilver-plate that was exhibited on this occaſion, ſo far above the ordinary fortunes of a private man; and they concluded, that a perſon of ſuch opulence would not, at a late period of life, expoſe himſelf to dangers, without a fair proſpect of ſucceſs, and the certain ſupport of friends. After the uſual prayers and libations the

* Theſe winds blew regularly at a certain ſeaſon of the year. Strabo ſometimes calls them eaſt, and ſometimes north winds; but to convey Dion from Zacynthus to Pachynus, they muſt have blown from the eaſt. Pliny makes the Eteſian winds the ſame as the north-eaſt wind. *Aquilo in æſtate media mutat nomen, et Eteſias vocatur.* Hiſt. Nat. l. xviii. cap. 34. He tells us, when the winds begin, xviii. *Calend. Auguſti, Egypto aquilo occidit matutinò, Eteſiarumque Prodromi Flotus incipiunt*, ibid. l. xviii. c. 28. And when they end: *Decimo Sexto Calend. Octob. Ægypto Spica, quam tenet virgo, exoritur matutino, Eteſiæ que deſinunt.* ibid. l. xviii. cap. 31. Thus it ſeems, that they laſt about two months, (Pliny in another place ſays forty days, l. ii. chap. 47.) and the relief of ſuch gales in that ſeaſon is plainly providential. Ariſtotle accounts for them from the convexity of the earth.

the moon was eclipſed. This was nothing ſtrange to Dion, who knew the variations of the ecliptic, and that this defection of the moon's light was cauſed by the interpoſition of the earth between her and the ſun. But as the ſoldiers were troubled about it, Miltas, the diviner, took upon him to give it a proper turn, and aſſured them, that it portended the ſudden obſcurity of ſomething that was at preſent glorious; that this glorious object could be no other than Dionyſius, whoſe luſtre would be extinguiſhed on their arrival in Sicily. This interpretation he commuicated in as public a manner as poſſible: but from the prodigy of the bees *, a ſwarm of which ſettled on the ſtern of Dion's ſhip, he intimated to his friends his apprehenſions that the great affairs, which Dion was then proſecuting, after flouriſhing a while, would come to nothing. Dionyſius too, they ſaid, had many prodigies on this occaſion. An eagle ſnatched a javelin from one of his guards, and, after flying aloft with it, dropt it in the ſea. The waters of the ſea, at the foot of the citadel, were freſh for one whole day, as plainly appeared to every one that taſted them. He had pigs farrowed perfect in all their other parts, but without ears. The diviners interpreted this as an omen of rebellion and revolt: the people, they ſaid, would no longer give ear to the mandates of the tyrant. The freſhneſs of the ſea-water imported, that the Syracuſans, after their harſh and ſevere treatment, would enjoy milder and better times. The eagle was the miniſter of Jove, and the javelin an enſign of power and government: thus the father of the gods had deſtined the overthrow and abolition of the tyranny. Theſe things we have from Theopompus.

Dion's ſoldiers were conveyed in two tranſports. Theſe were accompanied by another ſmaller veſſel, and two more of thirty oars. Beſide the arms of thoſe who attended him, he took with him two thouſand ſhields, a large quantity of darts and javelins, and a conſiderable ſupply of proviſions, that nothing might be wanting in the expedition; for they put off to the main ſea, becauſe they did not think it ſafe to coaſt it along, being informed that Philiſtus was ſtationed off Japygia to watch their motions. Having ſailed with a gentle wind about twelve



days,

* This ſuperſtition prevailed no leſs amongſt the Romans than mongſt the Greeks. See the Life of Brutus.

days, on the thirteenth they arrived at Pachynus, a promontory in Sicily. There the pilot advifed Dion to land his men immediately; for if they once doubled the cape, they might continue at fea a long time before they could have a gale from the fouth at that feafon of the year. But Dion, who was afraid of making a defcent too near the enemy, and chofe rather to make good his landing in fome remoter part of the ifland, doubled the cape notwithftanding. They had not failed far before a ftrong gale from the north and a high fea drove them quite off Sicily. At the fame time there was a violent ftorm of thunder and lightening; for it was about the rifing of Arcturus; and it was accompanied with fuch dreadful rains, and the weather was, in every refpect, fo tempeftuous, that the affrighted failors knew not where they were, till they found themfelves driven by the violence of the ftorm to Cercina on the coaft of Africa. This craggy ifland was furrounded with fuch dangerous rocks, that they narrowly efcaped being dafhed to pieces; but by working hard with their poles they kept clear, with much difficulty, till the ftorm abated. They were then informed by a veffel, which accidentally came up with them, that they were at the head of what is called the Great Syrtis *. In this horrible fituation they were further difheartened by finding themfelves becalmed; but, after beating about for fome time, a gale fprung up fuddenly from the fouth. On this unexpected change, as the wind increafed upon them, they made all their fail, and, imploring the affiftance of the gods, once more put off to fea in queft of Sicily. After an eafy paffage of five days, they arrived at Minoa, a fmall town in Sicily †, belonging to the Carthaginians. Synalus ‡, a friend of Dion's, was then governor of the place, and as he knew not that this little fleet belonged to Dion, he attempted to prevent the landing of his men. The foldiers leapt out of the veffels in arms, but killed none that oppofed them; for Dion, on account of his friendfhip with Synalus, had forbidden them. However, they ran in one body with the fugitives into the town, and thus made themfelves mafters of it. When Dion and the governor met, mutual falutations paffed between them,

* Not far from Tripoly.
† On the fouth coaft.
‡ Diodorus calls him Pyralus.

them, and the former reſtored him his town unhurt. Synalus, in return, entertained his ſoldiers, and ſupplied him with neceſſaries.

It happened that Dionyſius, a little before this, had ſailed with eighty ſhips for Italy, and this abſence of his gave them no ſmall encouragement. Inſomuch that when Dion invited his men to refreſh themſelves for ſome time after their fatigues at ſea, they thought of nothing but making a proper uſe of the preſent moment, and called upon him, with one voice, to lead them to Syracuſe: he, therefore, left his uſeleſs arms and baggage with Synalus, and having engaged him to tranſmit them to him at a proper opportunity, marched for Syracuſe. Two hundred of the Agrigentine cavalry, who inhabited the country about Ecnomus, immediately revolted, and joined him in his march, and theſe were followed by the inhabitants of Gela.

The news of his arrival ſoon reaching Syracuſe; Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, and was appointed regent in the abſence of Dionyſius, immediately deſpatched letters to acquaint him with the event. In the mean while he applied himſelf to prevent all tumults in the city, for the people were greatly animated on the report of Dion's arrival, though the uncertainty they were under as yet kept them quiet. A ſingular accident happened to the courier who was deſpatched with letters for Dionyſius. As he was paſſing through the territory of Rhegium to Caulonia, where the tyrant then was, he met an acquaintance of his returning home with a newly offered ſacrifice, and having taken a little of the fleſh for his own uſe *, he made the beſt of his way. At night, however, he found it neceſſary to take a little reſt, and retired to ſleep in a wood by the ſide of the road. A wolf, allured by the ſmell of the fleſh, came up while he was aſleep, and carried it off, together with the bag of letters to which it was faſtened. When the courier awaked, he ſought a long time to no purpoſe for his deſpatches, and being determined not to face Dionyſius without them, he abſconded. Thus it was a conſiderable time after, and from other hands, that Dionyſius was informed of Dion's arrival in Sicily.



* To carry home part of the victim, and to give part of it to any perſon that the bearer met, were acts of religion.

Dion, in his march, was joined by the Camarinæans, and many revolters from the territory of Syracuse. The Leontines and Campanians, who, with Timocrates, guarded the Epipolæ, being misled by a report designedly propagated by Dion, that he intended to attack their cities first, quitted their present station, and went to take care of their own concerns. Dion being informed of this, while he lay near Acræ, decamped in the night, and came to the river Anapus, which is at the distance of ten furlongs from the city. There he halted, and sacrificed by the river, addressing his prayers to the rising sun. The diviners informed him that the gods gave a promise of victory, and as he had himself assumed a garland at the sacrifice, all that were present immediately did the same. He was now joined by about five thousand, who were, indeed, ill furnished with arms; but their courage supplied that deficiency *. When he gave orders to march, *Liberty* was the word, and they rushed forward with the highest acclamations of joy. The most considerable citizens of Syracuse, dressed all in white, met him at the gates. The populace fell with great fury on Dionysius's party; but in particular they seized his spies, a set of wretches hated by gods and men, who went about the city to collect the sentiments of the inhabitants, in order to communicate them to the tyrant. These were the first that suffered, being knocked down wherever they were met. When Dimocrates found that he could not join the garrison in the citadel, he fled on horseback out of the city, and spread a general terror and dismay where he passed; magnifying all the while the forces of Dion, that it might not appear a slight effort, against which he was unable to defend the place.

Dion now made his public entry into the town: he was dressed in a magnificent suit of armour, his brother Megacles marching on the right-hand, and Calippus the Athenian on the left, with garlands on their heads. He was followed by an hundred foreign soldiers, who were his body-guard; and after these marched the rest of the army in proper order, under the conduct of their respective officers. The Syracusans looked upon this procession as sacred. They considered it as the triumphal entry

* Diodorus says he was soon joined by 20,000, and that when he reached Syracuse, he had not fewer than 50,000.

entry of Liberty, which would once more eſtabliſh the popular government, after a ſuppreſſion of forty-eight years.

When Dion entered at the Menitidian gate, ſilence was commanded by ſound of trumpet, and he ordered freedom to be proclaimed to the Syracuſans and the reſt of the Sicilians, in the name of Dion and Megacles, who came to aboliſh tyranny. Being deſirous to addreſs the people in a ſpeech, he marched up to the Arcadina. As he paſſed through the ſtreets, the people prepared their victims on tables placed before their doors, ſcattered flowers on his head, and offered up their prayers to him as to their tutelar deity. At the foot of the citadel, under the pentapylæ, there was a lofty ſun-dial *, which had been placed there by Dionyſius. From the eminence of this building he addreſſed the citizens, and exhorted them earneſtly to aſſert their liberties. The people, in their turn, nominated Dion and his brother prætors of the city, and, at their requeſt, appointed them twenty colleagues, half of whom were of thoſe who returned with Dion from exile.

At firſt it was conſidered by the ſoothſayers as a good omen, that Dion, when he addreſſed the people, had under his feet the ſtately edifice which Dionyſius had erected; but upon reflection that this edifice, on which he had been declared general, was a ſun-dial, they were apprehenſive that his preſent power and grandeur might be ſubject to decline.

Dion, in the next place, took the caſtle of Epipolæ, releaſed the priſoners who were confined there, and inveſted it with a ſtrong wall. Seven days after this event, Dionyſius arrived from Italy, and entered the citadel from the ſea. Dion, at the ſame time, received from Synalus the arms and ammunition he had left with him. Theſe he diſtributed amongſt the citizens, as far as they would go; the reſt armed themſelves as well as they were able; and all expreſſed the utmoſt alacrity for the ſervice. Dionyſius, at firſt, ſent agents in a private manner to Dion, to try what terms might be made with them. Dion refuſed

 to

* Pherecydes was the firſt who invented dials to mark the hour of the day, about three hundred years after the time of Homer. But before his time the Phœnicians had contrived a dial in the iſle of Scyros, which deſcribed the ſolſtices.

to hear any overtures in private. The Syracuſans, he told them, were now a free people; and what they had to offer muſt be addreſſed to them in public. Upon this they made ſpecious propoſals to the citizens, promiſed them an abatement of their taxes, and an exemption from ſerving in the wars, even though thoſe wars ſhould be undertaken by their own approbation. The Syracuſans held theſe propoſals in deriſion; and Dion anſwered, that it would be in vain for Dionyſius to ſpeak of terms without reſigning, in the firſt place, the regal government; and that if he took this meaſure, he might depend on all the good offices ſo near a relation might be inclined to do him; at leaſt in every thing that was juſt and reaſonable. Dionyſius ſeemed to conſent to theſe terms; and again ſent his agents to deſire that a deputation of the Syracuſans would attend him in the citadel, in order to ſettle articles for the public tranquillity. He aſſured them that he had ſuch to offer them as they could not but accept; and that on the other hand, he was equally willing to come into ſuch as they had to offer him. Dion, therefore, ſelected a number of the citizens for this deputation; and the general report from the citadel was, that Dionyſius would reſign his authority in a voluntary manner.

This, however, was no more than a ſtratagem to amuſe the Syracuſans. The deputies no ſooner arrived than they were impriſoned; and early next morning, after he had plied the mercenaries with wine, he ordered them to ſally out and attack the wall which had been built by Dion. This unexpected aſſault was carried on with great vigour by the barbarians. They broke through the works, and falling with great impetuoſity, and loud ſhouts, on the Syracuſans, ſoon put them to flight. Dion's foreign troops took the alarm, and haſtened to their relief; but the precipitate flight of the citizens diſordered their ranks, and rendered it difficult for them to give any effectual aſſiſtance. Dion perceiving that in this tumult, his orders could not be heard, inſtructed them by his example, and charged the thickeſt of the enemy. The battle, where he fought in perſon, was fierce and bloody. He was known to the enemy as well as to his own party; and they ruſhed with the utmoſt violence to the quarter where he fought. His age, indeed, rendered him unfit for ſuch an engagement, but he maintained

maintained the fight with great vigour, and cut in pieces many of the enemy that attacked him. At length he was wounded in the head with a lance; his ſhield was pierced through in many places with the darts and ſpears that were levelled againſt him; and his armour no longer reſiſting the blows he received in this cloſe engagement, he fell to the ground. He was immediately carried off by his ſoldiers, and leaving the command to Timonides, he rode about the city to rally the fugitives. Soon after he brought a detachment of foreign ſoldiers, which he had left to guard the Acradina, as a freſh reſerve againſt the enemy. This, however, was unneceſſary. They had placed their whole hopes of retaking the city in their firſt ſally, and finding ſo powerful a reſiſtance, fatigued with the action, they retreated into the citadel. As ſoon as they begun to fall back, the Greek ſoldiers bore hard upon them, and purſued them to the walls. Dion loſt ſeventy-four men, and a very great number of the enemy fell in this action. The victory was ſo important, that the Syracuſans rewarded each of the foreign ſoldiers with a hundred minæ, and Dion was preſented by his army with a crown of gold.

Soon after this, meſſengers came from Dionyſius with letters to Dion from the women of his family. Beſides theſe, there was one inſcribed "Hipparinus to his father "Dion." For this was the name of Dion's ſon. Timæus ſays, indeed, that he was called Aretæus, from his mother Arete; but I think credit is rather to be given to Timonides, who was his friend and fellow ſoldier. The reſt of the letters, which were read openly before the Syracuſans, contained various ſolicitations and intreaties from the women. The letter which appeared to come from Hipparinus, the people, out of reſpect to the father, would not have ſuffered to be opened in public; but Dion inſiſted that it ſhould be ſo. It proved to be a letter from Dionyſius himſelf, directed indeed to Dion, but in reality addreſſed to the people of Syracuſe; for though it carried the air of requeſt and apology, it had an obvious tendency to render Dion obnoxious to the citizens. He reminded him of the zeal he had formerly ſhewn for his ſervice; he threatened him through his deareſt connections, his ſiſter, his ſon, and his wife; and his menaces were followed by the moſt paſſionate intreaties, and the moſt abject lamentations. But the moſt trying part of his addreſs was that where

where he intreated Dion not to deſtroy the government, and give that freedom to his inveterate enemies by means of which they would proſecute him to death, but to retain the regal power himſelf, for the protection of his family and friends.

This letter did not produce thoſe ſentiments in the people which it ſhould naturally have done. Inſtead of exciting admiration of that noble firmneſs and magnanimity, which could prefer the public utility to the tendereſt private connections, it occaſioned jealouſies and fears. The people ſaw, or thought they ſaw, that Dion was under an abſolutely neceſſity of being favourable to Dionyſius. They already began to wiſh for another general, and it was with peculiar ſatisfaction they heard of the arrival of Heraclides. This Heraclides, who had been baniſhed by the tyrant, had once a diſtinguiſhed command in the army, and was a man of conſiderable military abilities, but irreſolute, inconſtant, and particularly unſteady when he had a colleague in command. He had, ſome time before, had a difference with Dion in Peleponneſus, and therefore reſolved on his own ſtrength to make war on Dionyſius. When he arrived at Syracuſe, he found the tyrant cloſe beſieged, and the Syracuſans elated with their ſucceſs. His firſt object, therefore, was to court the people; and for this purpoſe he had all the neceſſary talents; an inſinuating addreſs, and that kind of flattery which is ſo grateful to the multitude. This buſineſs was the more eaſy to him, as the forbidding gravity of Dion was thought too haughty for a popular ſtate: beſides, the Syracuſans, already inſolent with ſucceſs, aſſumed the ſpirit of a free people, though they had not, in reality, their freedom. Thus they convened themſelves without any ſummons, and appointed Heraclides their admiral: indeed, when Dion remonſtrated againſt that proceeding, and ſhewed them that by thus conſtituting Heraclides admiral, they ſuperſeded the office of general, which they had before conferred on him, with ſome reluctance they deprived Heraclides of the commiſſion they had given him. When this affair was ſettled, Dion invited Heraclides to his houſe, and gently expoſtulated with him on the impropriety of attending to a punctilio of honour, at a time when the leaſt inattention to the common cauſe might be the ruin of the whole. He then called an aſſembly, appointed Heraclides admiral, and pre-

prevailed with the citizens to allow him ſuch a guard as they had before granted to himſelf. Heraclides treated Dion with all the appearance of reſpect, acknowledged his obligations to him, and ſeemed attentive to his commands; but in private, he corrupted the people, and encouraged a ſpirit of mutiny and diſſatisfaction; ſo that Dion was involved in continual diſturbances and diſquiet. If he adviſed that Dionyſius ſhould be permitted to make his retreat in ſafety, he was cenſured as deſigning to favour and protect him; if, to avoid thoſe ſuſpicions, he was for continuing the ſiege, he was accuſed of protracting the war, that he might the longer retain his command, and keep the citizens in ſubjection.

There was in the city one Soſis, infamous for his inſolence and villany, who thought the perfection of liberty was the licentiouſneſs of ſpeech. This fellow openly attacked Dion, and told the people in public aſſembly, that they had only changed the inattention of a drunken and diſſolute tyrant, for the crafty vigilance of a ſober maſter. Immediately after this, he left the aſſembly, and next day was ſeen running naked through the ſtreets, as if from ſomebody that purſued him, with his head and face covered with blood. In this condition he ran into the market-place, and told the people that he had been aſſaulted by Dion's foreign ſoldiers; at the ſame time ſhewing them a wound in his head, which, he ſaid, they had given him. Dion, upon this, was generally condemned, and accuſed of ſilencing the people by ſanguinary methods: he came, however, before this irregular and tumultuous aſſembly, in his own vindication, and made it appear, that this Soſis was brother to one of Dionyſius's guards, and that he had been engaged by him to raiſe a tumult in the city; the only reſource the tyrant had now left, being that of exciting diſſentions amongſt the people. The ſurgeons alſo, who examined the wound, found that it was not occaſioned by any violent blow. The wounds made by weapons are generally deepeſt in the middle; but this was both ſuperficial, and of an equal depth from one end to the other: beſides, being diſcontinuous, it did not appear to be the effect of one inciſion, but to have been made at different times, probably as he was beſt able to endure the pain. At the ſame time there were ſome who depoſed, that having ſeen Soſis running naked and wounded, and being informed by him, that he

he was flying from the purfuit of Dion's foreign foldiers, who had juft then wounded him, they hafted to take the purfuers; that, however, they could meet with no fuch perfons, but found a razor lying under a hollow ftone near the place from whence they had obferved him come. All thefe circumftances made ftrongly againft him: but when his own fervants gave evidence, that he went out of his houfe alone before day-light, with a razor in his hand, Dion's accufers withdrew. The people, by a general vote, condemned Sofis to die, and were once more reconciled to Dion.

Neverthelefs their jealoufy of his foldiers remained. And as the war was now principally carried on by fea, Philiftus being come to the fupport of Dionyfius, with a confiderable fleet from Japygia, they did not fee the neceffity of retaining in their fervice thofe Greeks who were no feamen, and muft depend for protection on the naval force. Their confidence in their own ftrength was likewife greatly increafed by an advantage they had gained at fea againft Philiftus, whom they ufed in a very barbarous manner. Ephorus relates, that, after his fhip was taken, he flew himfelf. But Timonides, who attended Dion from the beginning of the war, writing to Speufippus the philofopher, gives the ftory thus. Philiftus's galley having run aground, he was taken prifoner alive; and after being difarmed and ftripped, was expofed naked, though an old man, to every kind of infult. They afterwards cut off his head, and ordered their children to drag his body through the Acradina, and throw it into the quarry. Timæus reprefents the indignity offered his remains to be ftill greater. The boys, he fays, tied a rope about his lame leg, and fo dragged him through the city, the Syracufans, in the mean while, infulting over his carcafe, when they faw *him* tied by the leg who had faid, *It would ill become Dionyfius to fly from his throne by the fwiftnefs of his horfe, which he ought never to quit till he was dragged from it by the heels.* Philiftus, however, tells us, that this was not faid to Dionyfius by himfelf, but by another. It is plain, at the fame time, that Timæus takes every occafion, from Philiftus's known adherence to arbitrary power, to load him with the keeneft reproaches. Thofe whom he injured are in fome degree excufable, if, in their refentment, they treated him with indignities after death. But wherefore

wherefore ſhould his biographers, whom he never injured, and who have had the benefit of his works; wherefore ſhould they exhibit him, with all the exaggerations of ſcurrility, in thoſe ſcenes of diſtreſs to which fortune ſometimes reduces the beſt of men? On the other hand, Ephorus is no leſs extravagant in his encomiums on Philiſtus. He knows well how to throw into ſhades the foibles of the human character, and to give an air of plauſibility to the moſt indefenſible conduct; but, with all his eloquence, with all his art, he cannot reſcue Philiſtus from the imputation of being the moſt ſtrenuous aſſertor of arbitrary power, of being the fondeſt follower and admirer of the luxury, the magnificence, the alliance of tyrants. Upon the whole, he who neither defends the principles of Philiſtus, nor inſults over his misfortunes, will beſt diſcharge the duty of the hiſtorian.

After the death of Philiſtus, Dionyſius offered to ſurrender the citadel to Dion, together with the arms, proviſions, and ſoldiers, and an advance of five months pay, on condition that he might be permitted to retire into Italy, and there enjoy the revenues of Gyata, a fruitful tract of country in the territory of Syracuſe, reaching from the ſea to the middle of the country. Dion refuſing to negociate on his own account, referred the ambaſſadors to the Syracuſans; and as they expected that Dionyſius would ſhortly come alive into their hands, they were diſmiſſed without audience. Upon this, the tyrant, leaving his eldeſt ſon Apollocrates to defend the citadel, embarked with his moſt valuable treaſures and a few ſelect friends, and, ſailing with a fair wind, eſcaped Heraclides the admiral.

The tyrant's eſcape greatly exaſperated the people againſt Heraclides; and, in order to appeaſe them, he propoſed by Hippo, one of the orators, that there ſhould be an equal diviſion of lands; alleging, that equality was the firſt foundation of civil liberty, and that poverty and ſlavery were ſynonimous terms. At the ſame time that he ſupported Hippo in the promotion of this ſcheme, he encouraged the faction againſt Dion, who oppoſed it. At length he prevailed with the people not only to paſs this law, but to make a decree, that the pay of the foreign ſoldiers ſhould be ſtopped, and new commanders choſen, that they might no longer be ſubject to the ſevere diſcipline of Dion. Thus, like the patient, who, after a lingering ſickneſs, makes too raſh a uſe of the

firſt

first returns of health, and rejects the sober and gradual regimen of his physician, the citizens, who had long laboured under the yoke of slavery, took too precipitate steps to freedom, and refused the salutary counsels and conduct of their deliverer.

It was about the midst of summer when the assembly was summoned for the election of new officers; and, for the space of fifteen days, there were the most dreadful thunders, and the most alarming prodigies. The religious fears that these prodigies excited, made these people decline the choosing of officers. When the weather grew more serene, the orators again exhorted them to proceed to the business; but no sooner had they begun, than a draught-ox, which had neither received any provocation from the driver, nor could be terrified by the crowds and noise to which he had been accustomed, suddenly broke from his yoke, and running furiously into the assembly, drove the people in great disorder before him: from thence, throwing down all that stood in his way, he ran over that part of the city which afterwards fell into the enemy's hands. The Syracusans, however, regardless of these things, elected five-and-twenty officers, among whom was Heraclides. At the same time they privately endeavoured to draw off Dion's men; promising, if they would desert him, to make them citizens of Syracuse. But the soldiers were faithful to their general, and placing him in the middle of a battalion, marched out of the city. They did not, on this occasion, offer any violence to the inhabitants, but they severely reproached them for their baseness and ingratitude. The smallness of their number, and their declining to act offensively, put the citizens on the view of cutting them off before they escaped out of the city; and with this design they fell upon their rear. Dion was here in a great dilemma: He was under the necessity either of fighting against his countrymen, or of suffering himself and his faithful soldiers to be cut in pieces. He therefore intreated the Syracusans to desist: he stretched forth his hands to them, and pointed to the citadel full of soldiers, who were happy in being spectators of these dissentions amongst their enemies. But the torrent of the populace, agitated and driven forwards by the seditious breath of the orators, was not to be stopped by persuasion. He, therefore, commanded his men to advance with shouts and clashing of arms, but not to

attack

attack them. The Syracuſans, upon this, fled immediately through the ſtreets, though no one purſued them, for Dion retreated with his men into the territories of the Leontines.

The very women laughed at the new officers for this cowardly flight; and the latter, to recover their reputation, ordered the citizens to arms, purſued Dion, and came up with him as he was paſſing a river. A ſkirmiſh begun between the cavalry; but when they found Dion no longer diſpoſed to bear theſe indignities with his uſual paternal patience; when they obſerved him drawing up his men for battle, with all the eagerneſs of ſtrong reſentment, they once more turned their backs, and, with the loſs of ſome few men, fled to the city in a more diſgraceful and more cowardly manner than before.

The Leontines received Dion in a very honourable manner, gave money to his ſoldiers, and made them free of their city. They alſo ſent meſſengers to Syracuſe with requiſitions, that his men might have juſtice done them, and receive their pay. The Syracuſans, in return, ſent other meſſengers, with impeachments againſt Dion: but when the matter was debated at Leontium, in full aſſembly of the allies, they evidently appeared to be in fault. They refuſed, nevertheleſs, to ſtand to the award of this aſſembly; for the recent recovery of their liberties had made them inſolent, and the popular power was without controul; their very commanders being no more than ſervile dependents on the multitude.

About this time Dionyſius ſent a fleet under Nypſius, the Neopolitan, with proviſions and pay for the garriſon in the citadel. The Syracuſans overcame him, and took four of his ſhips; but they made an ill uſe of their ſucceſs. Deſtitute of all diſcipline, they celebrated the victory with the moſt riotous extravagance; and at a time when they thought themſelves ſecure of taking the citadel, they loſt the city. Nypſius obſerving their diſorder, their night-revels and debauches, in which their commanders, either from inclination, or through fear of offending them, were as deeply engaged as themſelves, took advantage of this opportunity, broke through their walls, and expoſed the city to the violence and depredation of his ſoldiers.

The Syracuſans at once perceived their folly and their misfortune: but the latter, in their preſent confuſion, was

was not eaſy to be redreſſed. The ſoldiers made dreadful havock in the city: they demoliſhed the fortifications, put the men to the ſword, and dragged the women and children ſhrieking to the citadel. The Syracuſan officers being unable to ſeparate the citizens from the enemy, or to draw them up in any order, gave up all for loſt. In this ſituation, while the Acradina itſelf was in danger of being taken, they naturally turned their thoughts on Dion; but none had the courage to mention a man whom all had injured. In this emergency a voice was heard from the cavalry of the allies, crying, "Send for Dion and his Peloponneſians from Leontium." His name was no ſooner mentioned than the people ſhouted for joy. With tears they implored that he might once more be at their head: they remembered his intrepidity in the moſt trying dangers: they remembered the courage that he ſhewed himſelf, and the confidence with which he inſpired them when he led them againſt the enemy. Archonides and Teleſides from the auxiliaries, and Hellanicus, with four more from the cavalry, were immediately deſpatched to Leontium, where, making the beſt of their way, they arrived in the cloſe of the evening. They inſtantly threw themſelves at the feet of Dion, and related, with tears, the deplorable condition of the Syracuſans. The Leontines and Peloponneſians ſoon gathered about them, conjecturing from their haſte, and the manner of their addreſs, that their buſineſs had ſomething extraordinary in it.

Dion immediately ſummoned an aſſembly, and the people being ſoon collected, Archonides and Hellanicus briefly related the diſtreſs of the Syracuſans, intreated the foreign ſoldiers to forget the injuries they had done them, and once more to aſſiſt that unfortunate people, who had already ſuffered more for their ingratitude, than even they whom they had injured would have inflicted upon them. When they had thus ſpoken, a profound ſilence enſued; upon which Dion aroſe, and attempted to ſpeak, but was prevented by his tears. His ſoldiers, who were greatly affected with their general's ſorrow, intreated him to moderate his grief, and proceed. After he had recovered himſelf a little, he ſpoke to the following purpoſe: "Peloponneſians and confederates, "I have called you together, that you may conſult on your "reſpective affairs. My meaſures are taken: I cannot "heſitate what to do when Syracuſe is periſhing. If I

"cannot

"cannot save it, I will, at least, hasten thither, and fall
"beneath the ruins of my country. For you, if you can
"yet persuade yourselves to assist the most unfortunate and
"and inconsiderate of men, it may be in your power
"to save from destruction a city which was the work of
"your own hands *. But if your pity for the Syracu-
"sans be sacrificed to your resentment, may the gods re-
"ward your fidelity, your kindness to Dion! And remem-
"ber, that as he would not desert you, when you were
"injured, so neither could he abandon his falling coun-
"try!"

He had hardly ended, when the soldiers signified their readiness for the service by loud acclamations, and called upon him to march directly to the relief of Syracuse. The messengers embraced them, and intreated the gods to shower their blessings on Dion and the Peloponnesians. When the noise subsided, Dion gave orders that the men should repair to their quarters, and, after the necessary refreshments, assemble in the same place completely armed; for he intended to march that very night.

The soldiers of Dionysius, after ravaging the city during the whole day, retired at night, with the loss of a few men, into the citadel. This small respite once more encouraged the demogogues of the city, who presuming that the enemy would not repeat their hostilities, dissuaded the people from admitting Dion and his foreign soldiers. They advised them not to give up the honour of saving the city to strangers, but to defend their liberty themselves. Upon this the generals sent other messengers to Dion to countermand his march; while, on the other hand, the cavalry, and many of the principal citizens, sent their requests that he would hasten it. Thus invited by one party, and rejected by another, he came forward but slowly; and, at night, the faction that opposed him set a guard upon the gates to prevent his entering.

Nypsius now made a fresh sally from the citadel, with still greater numbers, and greater fury than before. After totally demolishing the remaining part of the fortification, he fell to ravaging the city. The slaughter was dreadful; men, women, and children, fell indiscrimi-
nately

* Strabo says, that Syracuse was built in the second year of the eleventh olympiad, by Archias, one of the Heraclidæ, who came from Corinth to Syracuse.

nately by the ſword: for the object of the enemy was not ſo much plunder as deſtruction. Dionyſius deſpaired of regaining his loſt empire, and, in his mortal hatred of the Syracuſans, he determined to bury it in the ruins of their city. It was reſolved, therefore, that, before Dion's ſuccours could arrive, they ſhould deſtroy it the quickeſt way, by laying it in aſhes. Accordingly they ſet fire to thoſe parts that were at hand by brands and torches; and to the remoter parts by ſhooting flaming arrows. The citizens, in the utmoſt conſternation, fled every where before them. Thoſe who, to avoid the fire, had fled from their houſes, were put to the ſword in the ſtreets; and they who ſought for refuge in their houſes were again driven out by the flames: many were burnt to death, and many periſhed beneath the ruins of the houſes.

This terrible diſtreſs, by univerſal conſent, opened the gates for Dion. After being informed that the enemy had retreated into the citadel, he had made no great haſte. But early in the morning ſome horſemen carried him the news of a freſh aſſault. Theſe were followed by ſome, even of thoſe who had recently oppoſed his coming, but who now implored him to fly to their relief. As the conflagration and deſtruction increaſed, Heraclides deſpatched his brother, and after him his uncle Theodotes, to intreat the aſſiſtance of Dion; for they were now no longer in a capacity of oppoſing the enemy: he was wounded himſelf, and great part of the city was laid in aſhes.

When Dion received this news, he was about ſixty furlongs from the city. After he had acquainted his ſoldiers with the dreadful exigency, and exorted them to behave with reſolution, they no longer marched, but ran; and in their way they were met by numbers, who intreated them, if poſſible, to go ſtill faſter. By the eager and vigorous ſpeed of the ſoldiers, Dion quickly arrived at the city; and, entering by the part called Hecatompedon, he ordered his light troops immediately to charge the enemy, that the Syracuſans might take courage at the ſight of them. In the mean while he drew up his heavy armed men, with ſuch of the citizens as had joined him, and divided them into ſeveral ſmall bodies, of greater depth than breadth, that he might intimidate the enemy, by attacking them in ſeveral quarters at once. He advanced to the engagement at the head of his men, amidſt a confuſed noiſe of ſhouts, plaudits, prayers, and vows, which the

the Syracuſans offered up for their deliverer, their tutelary deity; for ſo they termed him now; and his foreign ſoldiers they called their brethren and fellow citizens. At this time, perhaps, there was not one wretch ſo ſelfiſhly fond of life, that he did not hold Dion's ſafety dearer than his own, or that of all his fellow-citizens,—while they ſaw him advancing firſt in the front of danger, through blood and fire, and over heaps of the ſlain."

There was, indeed, ſomething terrible in the appearance of the enemy, who, animated by rage and deſpair, had poſted themſelves in the ruins of the ramparts, ſo that it was extremely dangerous and difficult to approach them. But the apprehenſions of fire diſcouraged Dion's men the moſt, and diſtreſſed them in their march. They were ſurrounded by flames that raged on every ſide; and while they walked over burning ruins, through clouds of aſhes and ſmoke, they were every moment in danger of being burned beneath the fall of half-conſumed buildings. In all theſe difficulties they took infinite pains to keep cloſe together, and maintain their ranks. When they came up to the enemy, a few only could engage at a time, on account of the narrowneſs and inequality of the ground. They fought, however, with great bravery, and, encouraged by the acclamations of the citizens, at length they routed Nypſius, and moſt of his men eſcaped into the citadel, which was near at hand. Such of them as were diſperſed and could not get in, were purſued and put to the ſword. The preſent deplorable ſtate of the city afforded neither time nor propriety for that joy and thoſe congratulations which uſually follow victory. All were buſy in ſaving the remains of the conflagrations; and though they laboured hard during the whole night, it was with great difficulty the fire was extinguiſhed.

Not one orator of the popular faction durſt any longer remain in the city. By their flight they at once confeſſed their guilt, and avoided puniſhment. Heraclides, however, and Theodotes, ſurrendered themſelves to Dion. They acknowledged their error, and intreated that he would not imitate them in the cruel treatment they had ſhewn him. They forgot not to add how much it would be for his honour, who was unequalled in other virtues, to reſtrain his reſentments; and, by forgiving the ungrateful, to teſtify that ſuperiority of ſpirit for which they had contended with him. His friends, however, adviſed him

him by no means to pardon these factious and invidious men, but to give them up to his soldiers, and to rid the commonwealth of the ambition of demagogues, no less destructive than that of tyrants. Dion, on the other hand, endeavoured to mitigate their resentments.—"Other generals," said he, "employ themselves chiefly in military "studies; but, by being long conversant in the academy, "I have learned to subdue my passions, and to restrain the "impulses of enmity and anger. To prove that I have "really gained such a victory over myself, it is not sufficient merely to be kind to men of virtue, but to be indulgent and reconcileable to the injurious. If I have "excelled Heraclides in military and political abilities, "I am resolved not to be inferior to him in justice and "clemency; since to have the advantage in those is the "first degree of excellence. The honours of conquest are "never wholly our own; for though the conqueror may "stand unrivalled, fortune will claim her share in his success. Heraclides may be treacherous, invidious, and "malicious; but must Dion, therefore, sully his glories "by the indulgence of resentment? The laws, indeed, allow the revenge of an injury to be more justifiable than "the commission of it; but both proceed originally from "the infirmity of human nature. Besides, there is hardly "any malignity so inveterate, that it may not be overcome by kindness, and softened by repeated favours." Agreeably to these sentiments, Dion pardoned Heraclides and dismissed him.

His first object was to repair the wall, which he had formerly erected around the citadel; and, for this purpose, he ordered each of the citizens to furnish a palisado, and bring it to the works. When they had done this, he sent them to their repose, and employed his own men the whole night in drawing a line of circumvallation around the citadel, which both the enemy and the citizens were astonished to find completed in the morning.

After the dead were buried, and the prisoners, to the amount of two thousand, ransomed, he summoned an assembly. Heraclides moved, that Dion should be declared commander in chief, both at sea and land. This motion was approved by the nobility, and the commons were desired to confirm it; but the sailors and artificers opposed it in a tumultuous manner. They were unwilling that Heraclides should lose his command at sea; for

though they had no good opinion of his principles, they knew that he would be more indulgent than Dion, and more ready to gratify their inclinations. Dion, therefore, gave up his point, and agreed that Heraclides ſhould continue admiral. But when the equal diſtribution of lands was moved for, he oppoſed it, and repealed all the decrees which had formerly paſſed on that meaſure, by which means he once more incurred the diſpleaſure of the people. Heraclides again made his advantage of this, and harangued the ſoldiers and ſailors at Meſſana, accuſing Dion of a deſign to make himſelf abſolute. At the ſame time he privately correſponded with Dionyſius, by means of Pharax, a Spartan. When the nobility got intelligence of this, there was a ſedition in the army, and the city was greatly diſtreſſed by want of proviſions. Dion was now at a loſs what meaſures to purſue; and all his friends condemned him for ſtrengthening the hands of ſo perverſe and invidious a wretch as Heraclides.

Pharax was encamped at Neopolis, in the territory of Agrigentum; and Dion drew out the Syracuſans, but not with an intent to engage him, till he found a convenient opportunity. This gave Heraclides and his ſeamen an occaſion of exclaiming, that he delayed fighting only that he might the longer continue in command. He was forced to action, therefore, contrary to his inclinations, and was beaten. His loſs, indeed, was ſmall, and his defeat was owing more to a miſunderſtanding in his own army, than to the ſuperior courage of the enemy: he, therefore, reſolved to renew the engagement, and, after animating and encouraging his men to redeem their loſt eredit, he drew them up in form of battle. In the evening, however, he received intelligence, that Heraclides was ſailing for Syracuſe, with an intent to poſſeſs himſelf of the city, and to ſhut him out. Upon this he made a draught of the braveſt and moſt active of the cavalry, and rode with ſuch expedition, that he reached the city by nine in the morning, after a march of ſeven hundred furlongs. Heraclides, though he made all the ſail he could, was too late, and he therefore tacked about, and ſtood out to ſea. While he was undetermined what courſe to ſteer, he met Gæſilus the Spartan, who informed him, that he was ſent to command in chief in Sicily, as Gylippus had done before. Heraclides immediately accepted him, and boaſted to his allies that he had found in this Spartan an antidote

to the power of Dion. At the ſame time he ſent a herald to Syracuſe, ordering the citizens to receive Gæſilus for their general. Dion anſwered, that the Syracuſans had already a ſufficient number of generals; and that, if it were neceſſary for them to have a Spartan, he was himſelf a citizen of Sparta.

Gæſilus having now no hopes of the command, waited upon Dion, and, by his mediation, reconciled him to Heraclides. This reconciliation was confirmed by the moſt ſolemn oaths, and Gæſilus himſelf was guarantee of the treaty, and undertook to puniſh Heraclides, in caſe of any future breach of faith. The Syracuſans upon this diſcharged their navy, as they found no advantages from it, equal to the expence of keeping it on foot, and to thoſe inconveniences it brought upon them, by being a continual ſource of ſeditions. At the ſame time they continued the ſiege, and inveſted the city with another wall. As the beſieged were cut off from further ſupplies, when proviſions failed, the ſoldiers began to mutiny, ſo that Apollocrates found himſelf under a neceſſity of coming to terms with Dion, and offered to deliver up the citadel to him, with all the arms and ſtores, on condition that he might have five gallies, and be permitted to retire in ſafety with his mother and ſiſters. Dion granted his requeſt, and with theſe he ſailed to Dionyſius. He was no ſooner under ſail than the whole city of Syracuſe aſſembled to behold the joyful ſight. Their hearts were ſo full of this intereſting event, that they even expreſſed their anger againſt thoſe who were abſent, and could not be witneſſes with what glory the ſun that day roſe upon Syracuſe, delivered at laſt from the chains of ſlavery. As this flight of Dionyſius was one of the moſt memorable viciſſitudes of fortune that is recorded in hiſtory, and as no tyranny was ever more effectually eſtabliſhed than his, how great muſt their joy and their ſelf-complacency have been, after they had deſtroyed it by ſuch inconſiderable means!

When Apollocrates was gone, and Dion went to take poſſeſſion of the citadel, the women could not wait till he entered, but ran to meet him at the gate. Ariſtomache came firſt, leading Dion's ſon, and Arete followed her in tears, fearful and apprehenſive of meeting her huſband, after ſhe had been ſo long in the poſſeſſion of another. Dion firſt embraced his ſiſter, then his ſon: after which,

Ariſtomache

Ariſtomache preſented Arete to him, with this addreſs: "Your baniſhment, Dion, made us all equally miſerable. "Your return, and your ſucceſs, have made us all happy, "except her whom I had the misfortune to ſee, by cruel "compulſion, given to another, while you were yet alive. "We are now entirely in your diſpoſal;—but how will you "determine concerning this unhappy woman?—And how "muſt ſhe ſalute you?—As her uncle, or as her huſband?" —Dion was affected by this tender interceſſion, and wept. He embraced Arete with great affection, put his ſon into her hands, and deſired her to retire to his own houſe, where he purpoſed to reſide; for the city he immediately delivered up to the Syracuſans.

All things had now ſucceeded to his wiſh: but he, by no means, ſought to reap the firſt advantages of his good fortune. His firſt object was to gratify his friends, to reward his allies, and to give his fellow-citizens and foreign ſoldiers proper marks of his favour, in which his munificence even exceeded his abilities. As to himſelf, he lived in a plain and frugal manner, which, on this occaſion, in particular was univerſally admired. For while the fame of his actions, and the reputation of his valour was ſpread through Sicily and Greece, he ſeemed rather to live with Plato in the ſparing ſimplicity of the academic life, than among ſoldiers, who look upon every ſpecies of luxury as a compenſation for the toils and dangers of war. Though Plato himſelf wrote to him, that the eyes of the whole world were upon him, he ſeems not to have carried his attentions beyond one particular part of one city, the academy. His judges in that ſociety, he knew, would not ſo much regard the greatneſs of his performances, his courage, or his victories, as that temper of mind with which he bore proſperity, and that moderation with which he ſuſtained his happier fortunes. He did not in the leaſt relax the ſeverity of his manners; he kept the ſame reſerve to the people, though condeſcenſion was, at this time, politically neceſſary; and though Plato, as we have already obſerved, had expoſtulated with him on this account, and told him, that *auſterity was the companion of ſolitude*. He had certainly a natural antipathy to complaiſance; and he had moreover a deſign, by his own example, to reform the manners of the Syracuſans, which were become vain, diſſolute, and immodeſt. Heraclides once more began to oppoſe him.

Dion fent for him to attend at the council; and he made anfwer, that he would not attend in any other capacity than as a private citizen, at a public affembly. Soon after this he impeached Dion of declining to demolifh the citadel, and of preventing the people from opening the tomb of Dionyfius, and dragging out the body. He accufed him likewife of fending for counfellors and minifters to Corinth, in contempt of his fellow-citizens. And it is true, that he had engaged fome Corinthians to affift him in fettling his plan of government. His intention was to reftrain the unlimited power of the popular adminiftration, (which cannot properly be called a government, but, as Plato terms it, a warehoufe of governments *) and to eftablifh the conftitution on the Lacedæmonian and Cretan plan. This was a mixture of the regal and popular governments, or rather an ariftocracy. Dion knew that the Corinthians were governed chiefly by the nobility, and that the influence of the people rather interfered. He forefaw that Heraclides would be no inconfiderable impediment to his fcheme. He knew him to be factious, turbulent, and inconftant; and he, therefore, gave him up to thofe who advifed to kill him, though he had before faved him out of their hands. Accordingly they broke into his houfe, and murdered him. His death was, at firft, refented by the citizens; but when Dion gave him a magnificent funeral, attended the dead body with his foldiers, and pronounced an oration to the people, their refentment went off. Indeed, they were fenfible that the city would never be at peace whilft the competitions of Dion and Heraclides fubfifted.

Dion had a friend named Callippus, an Athenian, with whom he firft became acquainted, not on account of his literary merit, but, according to Plato, becaufe he happened to be introduced by him to fome religious myfteries. He had always attended him in the army, and was in great efteem. He was the firft of his friends, who marched along with him into Syracufe, with a garland on his head, and he had diftinguifhed himfelf in every action. This man finding that Dion's chief friends had fallen in the war; that, fince the death of Heraclides, the popular party was without a leader, and that he himfelf ftood in great favour with the army, formed an execrable defign againft

* Repub. l. viii.

againſt the life of his benefactor. His object was certainly the ſupreme command in Sicily, though ſome ſay he was bribed to it with twenty talents. For this purpoſe he drew ſeveral of the ſoldiers into a conſpiracy againſt Dion, and his plot was conducted in a moſt artful manner. He conſtantly informed Dion of what he heard, or pretended to hear ſaid againſt him in the army. By this means he obtained ſuch confidence, that he was allowed to converſe privately with whom he thought proper, and to ſpeak with the utmoſt freedom againſt Dion, that he might diſcover his ſecret enemies. Thus, in a ſhort time, he drew about him all the ſeditious and diſcontented citizens; and if any one of different principles informed Dion that his integrity had been tried, he gave himſelf no concern about it, as that point had already been ſettled with Callippus.

While this conſpiracy was on foot, Dion had a monſtrous and dreadful apparition. As he was meditating one evening alone in the portico before his houſe, he heard a ſudden noiſe, and, turning about, perceived (for it was not yet dark) a woman of gigantic ſize at the end of the portico, in the form of one of the furies, as they are repreſented on the theatre, ſweeping the floor with a broom. In his terror and amazement he ſent for ſome of his friends, and, informing them of this prodigy, deſired they would ſtay with him during the night. His mind was in the utmoſt diſorder, and he was apprehenſive, that, if they left him, the ſpectre would appear again; but he ſaw it no more. Soon after this, his only ſon, who was now almoſt grown up to manhood, upon ſome childiſh diſpleaſure, or frivolous affront, threw himſelf from the top of the houſe, and was killed upon the ſpot.

While Dion was in this diſtreſs, Callippus was ripening the conſpiracy; and, for this purpoſe, he propagated a report in Syracuſe, that Dion, being now childleſs, had determined to adopt Apollocrates, the ſon of Dionyſius, who was nephew to his wife, and grandſon to his ſiſter. The plot, however, was now ſuſpected both by Dion, his wife, and ſiſter. Dion, who had ſtained his honour, and tarniſhed his glories, by the murder of Heraclides, had, as we may ſuppoſe, his anxieties on that account; and he would frequently declare, that rather than live, not only in fear of his enemies, but in ſuſpicion of his friends, he

would die a thousand deaths, and freely open his bosom to the assassin.

When Callippus found the women inquisitive and suspicious, he was afraid of the consequence, and asserted, with tears, his own integrity, offering to give them any pledge of his fidelity they might desire. They required that he would take the *great oath*; the form of which is as follows. The person who takes it, goes down into the temple of the Thesmophori, where, after the performance of some religious ceremonies, he puts on the purple robe of Proserpine, and, holding a flaming torch in his hand, proceeds on the oath. All this Callippus did without hesitation; and to shew with what contempt he held the goddess, he appointed the execution of his conspiracy on the day of her festival. Indeed, he could hardly think that even this would enhance his guilt, or render him more obnoxious to the goddess, when he was the very person who had before initiated Dion in her sacred mysteries.

The conspiracy was now supported by numbers; and as Dion was surrounded by his friends, in the apartment where he usually entertained them, the conspirators invested the house, some securing the doors, and others the windows. The assassins, who were Zacynthians, came in unarmed, in their ordinary dress. Those who remained without made fast the doors. The Zacynthians then fell upon Dion, and endeavoured to strangle him; but not succeeding in this, they called for a sword. No one, however, durst open the door; for Dion had many friends about him: yet they had, in effect, nothing to fear from these; for each concluded, that, by giving up Dion, he should consult his own safety. When they had waited some time, Lycon, a Syracusian, put a short sword through the window into the hands of a Zacynthian, who fell upon Dion, already stunned and senseless, and cut his throat like a victim at the altar. His sister, and his wife, who was pregnant, they imprisoned. In this unhappy situation she fell in labour, and was delivered of a son, whom they ventured to preserve; for Callippus was too much embroiled by his own affairs to attend to them, and the keepers of the prison were prevailed on to connive at it.

After Dion was cut off, and Callippus had the whole government of Syracuse in his hands, he had the presumption

ſumption to write to the Athenians, whom, after the gods, he ought of all others to have dreaded, polluted as he was with the murder of his benefactor. But it has been obſerved, with great truth, of that ſtate, that its good men are the beſt, and its bad men the worſt in the world. As the ſoil of Attica produces the fineſt honey, and the moſt fatal poiſons. The ſucceſs of Callippus did not long reproach the indulgence of the gods. He ſoon received the puniſhment he deſerved; for, in attempting to take Catana, he loſt Syracuſe; upon which occaſion he ſaid, that he had loſt a city, and got a cheeſe-grater *. Afterwards, at the ſiege of Meſſana, moſt of his men were cut off, and, amongſt the reſt, the murderers of Dion. As he was refuſed admiſſion by every city in Sicily, and univerſally hated and deſpiſed, he paſſed into Italy, and made himſelf maſter of Rhegium; but being no longer able to maintain his ſoldiers, he was ſlain by Leptines and Polyperchon with the very ſame ſword with which Dion had been aſſaſſinated; for it was known by the ſize (being ſhort, like the Spartan ſwords) and by the curious workmanſhip. Thus Callippus received the puniſhment due to his crimes.

When Ariſtomache and Arete were releaſed out of priſon, they were received by Icetes, a Syracuſan, a friend of Dion's, who, for ſome time, entertained them with hoſpitality and good faith. Afterwards, however, being prevailed on by the enemies of Dion, he put them on board a veſſel, under pretence of ſending them to the Peloponneſus; but privately ordered the ſailors to kill them in the paſſage, and throw the bodies overboard. Others ſay, that they and the infant were thrown alive into the ſea. This wretch too paid the forfeit of his villainy: for he was put to death by Timoleon; and the Syracuſans, to revenge Dion, ſlew his two daughters: of which I have made more particular mention in the life of Timoleon.

* But the word which ſignifies a cheeſe-grater in Greek is not *Catane*, but *Patane*.

# M. BRUTUS.

THE great anceſtor of Marcus Brutus was that Junius Brutus to whom the ancient Romans erected a ſtatue of braſs, and placed it in the capitol amongſt their kings. He was repreſented with a drawn ſword in his hand, to ſignify the ſpirit and firmneſs with which he vanquiſhed the Tarquins: but, hard-tempered like the ſteel of which that ſword was compoſed, and in no degree humanized by education, the ſame obdurate ſeverity which impelled him againſt the tyrant, ſhut up his natural affection from his children, when he found thoſe children conſpiring for the ſupport of tyranny. On the contrary, that Brutus, whoſe life we are now writing, had all the advantages that ariſe from the cultivation of philoſophy. To his ſpirit, which was naturally ſedate and mild, he gave vigour and activity by conſtant application. Upon the whole, he was happily formed to virtue, both by nature and education. Even the partizans of Cæſar aſcribed to him every thing that had the appearance of honour or generoſity in the conſpiracy, and all that was of a contrary complexion they laid to the charge of Caſſius; who was, indeed, the friend and relation of Brutus, but by no means reſembled him in the ſimplicity of his manners. It is univerſally allowed, that his mother, Servilia, was deſcended from Servilius Ahala, who, when Spurius Mælius ſeditiouſly aſpired to the monarchy, went up to him in the *forum*, under a pretence of buſineſs, and, as Mælius inclined his head to hear what he would ſay, ſtabbed him with a dagger, which he had concealed for the purpoſe *. But the partizans of Cæſar would not allow that he was deſcended from Junius Brutus, whoſe family, they ſaid, was extinct with his two ſons †. Marcus Brutus, according to them, was a plebeian, deſcended from one Brutus, a ſteward, of mean extraction; and that the family had but lately riſen to any dignity in the ſtate. On the contrary, Poſidonius, the philoſopher,

* Livy, and other hiſtorians, relate this affair differently. Some of them ſay confidently, that Servilius, who was then general of the horſe, put Mælius to death by order of Cincinnatus the dictator.

† Of this number is Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus.

philosopher, agrees with those historians, who say, that Junius Brutus had a third son, who was an infant when his brothers were put to death, and that Marcus Brutus was descended from him. He further tells us, that there were several illustrious persons of that family in his time, with whom he was well acquainted, and who very much resembled the statue of Junius Brutus *.

Cato, the philosopher, was brother to Servilia, the mother of Brutus, who greatly admired and imitated the virtues of his uncle, and married his daughter Porcia.

Brutus was acquainted with all the sects of the Greek philosophers, and understood their doctrines; but the Platonists stood highest in his esteem. He had no great opinion either of the new, or of the middle academy; but applied himself wholly to the studies of the ancient. Antiochus, of Ascalon, was, therefore, his favourite, and he entertained his brother Ariston in his own house; a man, who, though inferior to some of the philosophers in learning, was equal to the first of them in modesty, prudence, and gentleness of manners. Empylus, who likewise lived with Brutus, as we find in his own epistles, and in those of his friends, was an orator, and left a short, but a well-written narrative of the death of Cæsar, entitled *Brutus*.

Brutus spoke with great ability in Latin, both in the field and at the bar. In Greek he affected the sententious and laconic way. There are several instances of this in his epistles. Thus, in the beginning of the war, he wrote to the Pergamenians. "I hear you have given money "to Dolabella. If you gave it willingly, you must own, "you injured me; if unwillingly, shew it by giving "willingly to me." Thus, on another occasion, to the Samians. "Your deliberations are tedious; your actions "slow: what, think you, will be the consequence?" Of the Pataræans thus: "The Xanthians rejected my "kindness, and desperately made their country their "grave. The Patareans confided in me, and retained



* There were several distinguished persons of this family in the year of Rome 558; some of whom opposed the abrogation of the Oppian law, and were besieged by the Roman women in their houses. Livy xxxiv. Val. Max. l. ix.

"their liberty. It is in your own choice to imitate the "prudence of the Patareans, or to ſuffer the fate of the "Xanthians." And ſuch is the ſtyle of his moſt remarkable letters.

While he was yet very young, he accompanied Cato to Cyprus, in the expedition againſt Ptolemy. After Ptolemy had killed himſelf, Cato, being detained by buſineſs in the iſle of Rhodes, ſent Carinius to ſecure the king's treaſure; but ſuſpecting his fidelity, he wrote to Brutus to ſail immediately to Cyprus from Pamphylia; where, after a fit of ſickneſs, he ſtaid for the re-eſtabliſhment of his health. He obeyed the order with reluctance, both out of reſpect to Caninius, who was ſuperſeded with diſgrace, and becauſe he thought the employment illiberal, and by no means proper for a young man who was in purſuit of philoſophy. Nevertheleſs he executed the commiſſion with ſuch diligence, that he had the approbation of Cato; and having turned the effects of Ptolemy into ready money, he brought the greateſt part of it to Rome.

When Rome was divided into two factions, and Pompey and Cæſar were in arms againſt each other, it was generally believed that Brutus would join Cæſar, becauſe his father had been put to death by Pompey. However, he thought it his duty to ſacrifice his reſentments to the intereſt of his country; and judging Pompey's to be the better cauſe, he joined his party; though before, he would not even ſalute Pompey when he met him; eſteeming it a crime to have any converſation with the murderer of his father. He now looked upon him as the head of the commonwealth; and, therefore, liſting under his banner, he ſailed for Sicily in quality of lieutenant to Seſtius, who was governor of the iſland. There, however, he found no opportunity to diſtinguiſh himſelf; and being informed that Pompey and Cæſar were encamped near each other, and preparing for that battle on which the whole empire depended, he went voluntarily into Macedonia to have his ſhare in the danger. Pompey, it is ſaid, was ſo much ſurpriſed and pleaſed with his coming, that he roſe to embrace him in the preſence of his guards, and treated him with as much reſpect as if he had been his ſuperior. During the time that he was in camp, thoſe hours that he did not ſpend with Pompey, he employed in reading and ſtudy; and thus he paſſed the day before the battle of Pharſalia.

Pharſalia. It was the middle of ſummer, the heats were intenſe, the marſhy ſituation of the camp diſagreeable, and his tent-bearers were long in coming. Nevertheleſs, though extremely haraſſed and fatigued, he did not anoint himſelf till noon; and then, taking a morſel of bread, while others were at reſt, or muſing on the event of the enſuing day, he employed himſelf till the evening in writing an epitome of Polybius.

Cæſar, it is ſaid, had ſo high an eſteem for him, that he ordered his officers by all means to ſave him, if he would ſurrender himſelf; and, if he refuſed, to let him eſcape with his life. Some have placed this kindneſs to the account of Servilia, the mother of Brutus, with whom Cæſar had connections of a tender nature in the early part of his life *. Beſides, as this amour was in full blow about the time when Brutus was born, Cæſar had ſome reaſon to believe he might be his ſon. The intrigue was notorious. When the ſenate was debating on the dangerous conſpiracy of Cataline, Cato and Cæſar, who took different ſides of the queſtion, happened to ſit near each other. In the midſt of the buſineſs, a note was brought to Cæſar from without, which he read ſilently to himſelf. Cato, hereupon, loudly accuſed Cæſar of receiving letters from the enemies of the commonwealth; and Cæſar finding that it had occaſioned a diſturbance in the ſenate, delivered the note to Cato as he had received it. Cato, when he found it to be nothing but a lewd letter from his own ſiſter Servilia, threw it back again to Cæſar. "Take it, you ſot," ſaid he, and went on with the public buſineſs.

After the battle of Pharſalia, when Pompey was fled towards the ſea, and Cæſar was ſtorming the camp, Brutus eſcaped through one of the gates, and fled into a watery marſh, where he hid himſelf amongſt the reeds. From thence he ventured out in the night, and got ſafe to Lariſſa. From Lariſſa he wrote to Cæſar, who expreſſed the greateſt pleaſure in hearing of his ſafety, ſent for him, and

* Theſe connections were well known. Cæſar made her a preſent, on a certain occaſion, of a pearl which coſt him near 50,000l. In the civil wars he aſſigned to her a confiſcated eſtate for a mere trifle; and when the people expreſſed their ſurprize at its cheapneſs, Cicero ſaid humourouſly, *Quo melius emptam ſciatis, tertia deducta eſt.* *Tertia* was a daughter of Servilia's, and *deducta* was a term in the procuring buſineſs.

and entertained him amongſt the firſt of his friends. When no one could give account which way Pompey was fled, Cæſar walked for ſome time alone with Brutus, to conſult his opinion; and finding that it was for Egypt, he rejected the opinions of the reſt, and directed his march for that country. Pompey had, indeed, taken the route of Egypt, as Brutus conjectured; but he had already met his fate.

Brutus had ſo much influence with Cæſar, that he reconciled him to his friend Caſſius; and when he ſpoke in behalf of the king of Africa, though there were many impeachments againſt him, he obtained for him a great part of his kingdom *. When he firſt began to ſpeak on this occaſion, Cæſar ſaid, "I know not what this young man "intends, but whatever it is, he intends it ſtrongly." His mind was ſteady, and not eaſily moved by intreaties. His principles were reaſon, and honour, and virtue; and the ends to which theſe directed him, he proſecuted with ſo much vigour, that he ſeldom failed of ſucceſs. No flattery could induce him to attend to unjuſt petitions; and though that ductility of mind which may be wrought upon by the impudence of importunity, is by ſome called good-nature, he conſidered it as the greateſt diſgrace. He uſed to ſay, that he ſuſpected thoſe who could refuſe no favours, had not very honeſtly employed the flower of their youth.

Cæſar, previouſly to his expedition into Africa, againſt Cato and Scipio, appointed Brutus to the government of Gallio Ciſalpina. And this was very fortunate for that particular province. For while the inhabitants of other provinces were oppreſſed and treated like ſlaves, by the violence and rapacity of their governors, Brutus behaved with ſo much kindneſs to the people under his juriſdiction, that they were in ſome meaſure indemnified for their former ſufferings. Yet he aſcribed every thing to the goodneſs of Cæſar; and it was no ſmall gratification to the latter to find, on his return through Italy, not only Brutus himſelf, but all the cities under his command, ready to attend his progreſs, and induſtrious to do him honour.

As there were ſeveral prætorſhips vacant, it was the general opinion, that the chief of them, which is the prætorſhip

* Plutarch muſt here be miſtaken. It was Diotarus, and not the king of Africa, that Brutus pleaded for.

prætorſhip of the city, would be conferred either on Brutus, or on Caſſius. Some ſay that this competition heightened the variance that had already taken place between Brutus and Caſſius; for there was a miſunderſtanding between them, though Caſſius was allied to Brutus by marrying his ſiſter Junia. Others ſay, that this competition was a political manœuvre of Cæſar's, who had encouraged it by favouring both their hopes in private. Be that as it may, Brutus had little more than the reputation of his virtue to ſet againſt the gallant actions performed by Caſſius in the Parthian war. Cæſar weighed the merits of each; and after conſulting with his friends, "Caſſius," he ſaid, "has the better title to it, notwithſtanding, Brutus muſt have the firſt prætorſhip." Another prætorſhip was, therefore, given to Caſſius: but he was not ſo much obliged by this as offended by the loſs of the firſt. Brutus had, or at leaſt might have had, equal influence with Cæſar in every thing elſe: he might have ſtood the firſt in authority and intereſt, but he was drawn off by Caſſius's party. Not that he was perfectly reconciled to Caſſius, ſince the competition for the prætorial appointments; but he liſtened to his friends, who were perpetually adviſing him, not to be ſoothed or cajoled by Cæſar; but to reject the civilities of a tyrant, whoſe object was not to reward, but to diſarm his virtue. On the other hand, Cæſar had his ſuſpicions, and Brutus his accuſers; yet the former thought he had leſs to fear from his ſpirit, his authority, and his connections, than he had to hope from his honeſty. When he was told that Antony and Dolabella had ſome dangerous conſpiracy on foot, "It is "not," ſaid he, "the ſleek and fat men that I fear, but the "pale and the lean;" meaning Brutus and Caſſius. Afterwards, when he was adviſed to beware of Brutus, he laid his hand upon his breaſt, and ſaid, "Do not you "think, then, that Brutus will wait till I have done with "this poor body?" as if he thought Brutus the only proper perſon to ſucceed him in his immenſe power. Indeed it is extremely probable that Brutus would have been the firſt man in Rome, could he have had patience awhile to be the ſecond, and have waited till time had waſted the power of Cæſar, and dimmed the luſtre of his great actions. But Caſſius, a man of violent paſſions, and an enemy to Cæſar, rather from perſonal than political hatred, ſtill urged him againſt the dictator. It was univerſally

fally faid, that Brutus hated the imperial power, and that Caffius hated the emperor. Caffius, indeed, pretended that Cæfar had injured him. He complained that the lions which he had procured when he was nominated ædile, and which he had fent to Megara, Cæfar had taken and converted to his own ufe, having found them there when that city was taken by Calanus. Thofe lions, it is faid, were very fatal to the inhabitants; for as foon as their city was taken, they opened their dens, and unchained them in the ftreets, that they might ftop the irruption of the enemy: but inftead of that they fell upon the citizens, and tore them in fuch a manner, that their very enemies were ftruck with horror. Some fay that this was the principal motive with Caffius for confpiring againft Cæfar; but they are ftrangely miftaken. Caffius had a natural averfion to the whole race of tyrants, which he fhewed even when he was at fchool with Fauftus the fon of Sylla. When Fauftus was boafting amongft the boys of the unlimited power of his father, Caffius rofe and ftruck him on the face. The friends and tutors of Fauftus would have taken upon themfelves to punifh the infult; but Pompey prevented it, and, fending for the boys, examined them himfelf. Upon which Caffius faid, "Come "along, Fauftus! repeat, if you dare, before Pompey, "the expreffions which provoked me, that I may punifh "you in the fame manner. Such was the difpofition of Caffius.

But Brutus was animated to this undertaking, by the perfuafion of his friends, by private intimations and anonymous letters. Under the ftatue of his anceftor, who deftroyed the Tarquins, was placed a paper with thefe words: *O that we had a Brutus now! O that Brutus were now alive!* His own tribunal on which he fat as prætor, was continually filled with fuch infcriptions as thefe: *Brutus, thou fleepeft! Thou art not a true Brutus!* The fycophants of Cæfar were the occafion of this; for, amongft other invidious diftinctions which they paid him, they crowned his ftatues by night, that the people might falute him king, inftead of dictator. However, it had a contrary effect, as I have fhewn more at large in the life of Cæfar.

When Caffius folicited his friends to engage in the confpiracy, they all confented, on condition that Brutus would take the lead. They concluded that it was not

ftrength

ſtrength of hands, or reſolution, that they wanted, but the countenance of a man of reputation, to preſide at this ſacrifice, and to juſtify the deed. They were ſenſible that, without him, they ſhould neither proceed with ſpirit, nor eſcape ſuſpicion when they had effected their purpoſe. The world, they knew, would conclude, that if the action had been honourable, Brutus would not have refuſed to engage in it. Caſſius having conſidered theſe things, determined to pay Brutus the firſt viſit after the quarrel that had been between them; and as ſoon as the compliments of reconciliation were over, he aſked him, "Whether he intended to be in the ſenate on the "calends of March; for it was reported," he ſaid, "that "Cæſar's friends deſigned to move that he ſhould be de-"clared king." Brutus anſwered, "He ſhould not be "there;" and Caſſius replied, "But what if they ſhould "ſend for us?" "It would then," ſaid Brutus, "by my "duty, not only to ſpeak againſt it, but to ſacrifice my life "for the liberties of Rome." Caſſius, encouraged by this, proceeded:—"But what Roman will bear to ſee you "die? Do not you know yourſelf, Brutus? Think you "that thoſe inſcriptions you found on your tribunal were "placed there by weavers and victuallers, and not by the "firſt men in Rome? From other prætors they look for "preſents, and ſhews, and gladiators; but from you they "expect the abolition of tyranny, as a debt which your "family has entailed upon you. They are ready to ſuffer "every thing on your account, if you are really what you "ought, and what they expect you to be." After this he embraced Brutus, and being perfectly reconciled they retired to their reſpective friends.

In Pompey's party there was one Quintus Ligarius, whom Cæſar had pardoned, though he had borne arms againſt him. This man, leſs grateful for the pardon he had received, than offended with the power which made him ſtand in need of it, hated Cæſar, but was the intimate friend of Brutus. The latter one day viſited him, and finding him not well, ſaid, "O Ligarius! what a "time is this to be ſick?" Upon which he raiſed himſelf on his elbow, and taking Brutus by the hand, anſwered, "If Brutus has any deſign worthy of himſelf, Ligarius is "well." They now tried the inclinations of all they could truſt, and took into the conſpiracy, not only their familiar friends, but ſuch as they knew to be brave, and above

above the fear of death. For this reaſon, though they had the greateſt regard for Cicero, and the utmoſt confidence in his principles as a republican, they concealed the conſpiracy from him, leſt his natural timidity, and the wearineſs of age, ſhould retard thoſe meaſures which required the moſt reſolute deſpatch.

Brutus likewiſe thought proper to leave his friends, Statilius and Favonius, the followers of Cato, out of the conſpiracy. He had tried their ſentiments, under the colour of a philoſophical diſpute; in which Favonius obſerved, that the worſt abſolute government was preferable to a civil war: and Statilius added, that it became no wiſe man to expoſe himſelf to fear and danger, on account of the faults and follies of others. But Labeo, who was preſent, contradicted both. And Brutus, though he was then ſilent, as if the diſpute had been difficult to determine, afterwards communicated the deſign to Labeo, who readily concurred in it. It was then agreed to gain over the other Brutus, ſurnamed Albinus, who, though not diſtinguiſhed by his perſonal courage, was of conſequence, on account of the great number of gladiators he bred for the public ſhews, and the entire confidence that Cæſar placed in him. To the ſolicitations of Caſſius and Labeo he made no anſwer; but when he came privately to Brutus, and found that he was at the head of the conſpiracy, he made no ſcruple of joining them. The name of Brutus drew in many more of the moſt conſiderable perſons of the ſtate; and though they had entered into no oath of ſecreſy, they kept the deſign ſo cloſe, that notwithſtanding the gods themſelves denounced the event, by a variety of prodigies, no one would give credit to the conſpiracy.

Brutus now felt his conſequence lie heavy upon him. The ſafety of ſome of the greateſt men in Rome depended on his conduct, and he could not think of the danger they were to encounter without anxiety. In public, indeed, he ſuppreſſed his uneaſineſs: but at home, and eſpecially by night, he was not the ſame man. Sometimes he would ſtart from his ſleep; at others, he was totally immerſed in thought. From which, and the like circumſtances, it was obvious to his wife, that he was revolving in his mind ſome difficult and dangerous enterprize. Porcia, as we before obſerved, was the daughter of Cato. She was married to her couſin Brutus very young, though ſhe was a widow

a widow, and had a ſon, named Bibulus, after his father. There is a ſmall tract of his ſtill extant, called *Memoirs of Brutus*. Porcia added to the affection of a wife, the prudence of a woman, who was not unacquainted with philoſophy; and ſhe reſolved not to inquire into her huſband's ſecrets before ſhe had made the following trial of her own firmneſs. She ordered all her attendants out of her apartment, and, with a ſmall knife, gave herſelf a deep wound in the thigh. This occaſioned a great effuſion of blood, extreme pain, and a fever in conſequence of that pain. Brutus was extremely afflicted for her, and as he attended her, in the height of her pain, ſhe thus ſpoke to him: "Brutus, when you married the "daughter of Cato, you did not, I preſume, conſider her "merely as a female companion, but as the partner of "your fortunes. You, indeed, have given me no reaſon "to repent my marriage: but what proof, either of af- "fection or fidelity, can you receive from me, if I may "neither ſhare in your ſecret griefs, nor in your ſecret "councils! I am ſenſible that ſecreſy is not the cha- "racteriſtic virtue of my ſex: but ſurely our natural "weakneſs may be ſtrengthened by a virtuous educa- "tion, and by honourable connections; and Porcia can "boaſt that ſhe is the daughter of Cato, and the wife of "Brutus. Yet even in theſe diſtinctions I placed no ab- "ſolute confidence, till I tried, and found that I was "proof againſt pain." When ſhe had ſaid this, ſhe ſhewed him her wound, and informed him of her motives: upon which Brutus was ſo ſtruck with her magnanimity, that, with lifted hands, he intreated the gods to favour his enterprize, and enable him to approve himſelf worthy of Porcia. He then took every means to cure her wound, and reſtore her health.

A meeting of the ſenate being appointed, at which Cæſar was expected to attend, *that* was thought a proper time for the execution of their deſign. For *then* they could not only appear together without ſuſpicion, but as ſome of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the commonwealth would be preſent, they flattered themſelves that, as ſoon as the deed was done, they would join in aſſerting the common liberty. The place too where the ſenate was to meet ſeemed providentially favourable for their purpoſe. It was a portico adjoining to the theatre, and in the midſt of a ſaloon, furniſhed with benches, ſtood a ſtatue of Pom-

pey,

pey, which had been erected to him by the commonwealth, when he adorned that part of the city with those buildings. Here the senate was convened on the ides of of March; and it seemed as if some god should bring Cæsar to this place to revenge upon him the death of Pompey.

When the day came, Brutus went out, and took with him a dagger, which last circumstance was known only to his wife. The rest met at the house of Cassius, and conducted his son, who was that day to put on the *toga virilis*, to the *forum*: from whence they proceeded to Pompey's portico, and waited for Cæsar. Any one that had been privy to the design of the conspirators, would here have been astonished at their calm and consistent firmness. Many of them were prætors, and obliged by their office to hear and determine causes. These they heard with so much calmness, and decided with so much accuracy, that one could not have supposed there had been any thing else upon their minds; and when a certain person appealed from the judgment of Brutus to Cæsar, Brutus, looking round on the assembly, said, *Cæsar neither does, nor shall hinder me from acting agreeably to the laws.* Nevertheless they were disturbed by many accidents. Though the day was far spent, still Cæsar did not come, being detained by his wife and the soothsayers, on account of defects in the sacrifices. In the mean time a person came up to Casca, one of the conspirators, and taking him by the hand, "You concealed the thing from "me," said he, "but Brutus has told me all." Casca expressed his surprise; upon which the other said, laughing, "How came you to be so rich of a sudden, as to "stand for the ædileship;" so near was the great secret being blown by the ambiguity of this man's discourse! At the same time Popilius Læna, a senator, after saluting Brutus and Cassius in a very obliging manner, said, in a whisper, "My best wishes are with you:—but make no "delay; for it is now no secret." After saying this, he immediately went away, and left them in great consternation; for they concluded that every thing was discovered. Soon after this a messenger came running from Brutus's house, and told him that his wife was dying. Porcia had been under extreme anxiety, and in great agitations about the event. At every little noise or voice she heard, she started up and ran to the door, like one of the frantic priestesses

priſteſſes of Bacchus, inquiring of every one that came from the *forum*, what Brutus was doing. She ſent meſſenger after meſſenger to make the ſame inquiries; and being unable any longer to ſupport the agitations of her mind, ſhe at length fainted away. She had not time to retire to her chamber. As ſhe ſat in the middle of the houſe, her ſpirits failed, her colour changed, and ſhe loſt her ſenſes and her ſpeech. Her women ſhrieked, the neighbours ran to their aſſiſtance, and a report was ſoon ſpread through the city, that Porcia was dead. However, by the care of thoſe that were about her, ſhe recovered in a little time. Brutus was greatly diſtreſſed with the news, and not without reaſon; but his private grief gave way to the public concern: for it was now reported that Cæſar was coming on a litter. The ill omen of his ſacrifices had deterred him from entering on buſineſs of importance, and he propoſed to defer it under a pretence of indiſpoſition. As ſoon as he came out of the litter, Popilius Læna, who a little before had wiſhed Brutus ſucceſs, went up, and ſpoke to him for a conſiderable time, Cæſar all the while ſtanding, and ſeeming very attentive. The conſpirators not being able to hear what he ſaid, ſuſpected, from what paſſed between him and Brutus, that he was now making a diſcovery of their deſign. This diſconcerted them extremely, and looking upon each other, they agreed, by the ſilent language of the countenance, that they ſhould not ſtay to be taken, but deſpatch themſelves. With this intent Caſſius and ſome others were juſt about to draw their daggers from under their robes, when Brutus obſerving from the looks and geſtures of Læna, that he was petitioning, and not accuſing, encouraged Caſſius by the cheerfulneſs of his countenance. This was the only way by which he could communicate his ſentiments, being ſurrounded by many who were ſtrangers to the conſpiracy. Læna, after a little while, kiſſed Cæſar's hand, and left him; and it plainly appeared, upon the whole, that he had been ſpeaking about his own affairs.

The ſenate was already ſeated, and the conſpirators got cloſe about Cæſar's chair, under pretence of preferring a ſuit to him. Caſſius turned his face to Pompey's ſtatue, and invoked it, as if it had been ſenſible of his prayers. Trebonius kept Antony in converſation without the court. And now Cæſar entered, and the whole ſenate

ſenate roſe to ſalute him. The conſpirators crowded around him, and ſet Tullius Cimber, one of their number, to ſolicit the reçal of his brother, who was baniſhed. They all united in the ſolicitation, took hold of Cæſar's hand, and kiſſed his head and his breaſt. He rejected their applications, and finding that they would not deſiſt, at length roſe from his ſeat in anger. Tullius, upon this laid hold of his robe, and pulled it from his ſhoulders. Caſca, who ſtood behind, gave him the firſt, though but a ſlight wound with his dagger, near the ſhoulder. Cæſar caught the handle of the dagger, and ſaid in Latin, "Villain! Caſca! What doſt thou mean?" Caſca, in Greek, called his brother to his aſſiſtance. Cæſar was wounded by numbers almoſt at the ſame inſtant, and looked round him for ſome way to eſcape; but when he ſaw the dagger of Brutus pointed againſt him, he let go Caſca's hand, and covering his head with his robe, reſigned himſelf to their ſwords. The conſpirators preſſed ſo eagerly to ſtab him, that they wounded each other. Brutus, in attempting to have his ſhare in the ſacrifice, received a wound in his hand, and all of them were covered with blood.

Cæſar thus ſlain, Brutus ſtepped forward into the middle of the ſenate-houſe, and propoſing to make a ſpeech, deſired the ſenators to ſtay. They fled, however, with the utmoſt precipitation, though no one purſued; for the conſpirators had no deſign on any life but Cæſar's; and, that taken away, they invited the reſt to liberty. Indeed, all but Brutus were of opinion that Antony ſhould fall with Cæſar. They conſidered him as an inſolent man, who, in his principles, favoured monarchy; and who had made himſelf popular in the army. Moreover, beſide his natural diſpoſition to deſpotiſm, he had at this time the conſular power, and was the colleague of Cæſar. Brutus, on the other hand, alleged the injuſtice of ſuch a meaſure, and ſuggeſted the poſſibility of Antony's change of principle. He thought it far from being improbable that, after the deſtruction of Cæſar, a man ſo paſſionately fond of glory, ſhould be inſpired by an emulation to join in reſtoring the commonwealth. Thus Antony was ſaved; though, in the general conſternation, he fled, in the diſguiſe of a plebeian. Brutus and his party betook themſelves to the capitol; and ſhewing their bloody hands and naked ſwords, proclaimed liberty

to the people as they paſſed. At firſt all was lamentation, diſtraction, and tumult: but as no further violence was committed, the ſenators and the people recovered their apprehenſions, and went in a body to the conſpirators in the capitol. Brutus made a popular ſpeech adapted to the occaſion; and this being well received, the conſpirators were encouraged to come down into the *forum*. The reſt were undiſtinguiſhed; but perſons of the firſt quality attended Brutus, conducted him with great honour from the capitol, and placed him in the *roſtrum*. At the ſight of Brutus, the populace, though diſpoſed to tumult, were ſtruck with reverence; and when he began to ſpeak, they attended with ſilence. It ſoon appeared, however, that it was not the action, but the man, they reſpected; for when Cinna ſpoke, and accuſed Cæſar, they loaded him with the moſt opprobrious language; and became ſo outrageous, that the conſpirators thought proper once more to retire into the capitol. Brutus now expected to be beſieged, and therefore diſmiſſed the principal people that attended him; becauſe he thought it unreaſonable that they who had no concern in the action, ſhould be expoſed to the danger that followed it. Next day the ſenate aſſembled in the temple of Tellus, and Antony, Plancus, and Cicero, in their reſpective ſpeeches, perſuaded and prevailed on the people to forget what was paſſed. Accordingly, the conſpirators were not only pardoned, but it was decreed that and the conſuls ſhould take into conſideration what honours dignities were proper to be conferred upon them. After this the ſenate broke up; and Antony, having ſent his ſon as an hoſtage to the capitol, Brutus and his party came down, and mutual compliments paſſed between them. Caſſius was invited to ſup with Antony, Brutus with Lepidus, and the reſt were entertained by their reſpective friends.

Early next morning the ſenate aſſembled again, and voted thanks to Antony for preventing a civil war, as well as to Brutus and his party for their ſervices to the commonwealth. The latter had alſo provinces diſtributed amongſt them. Crete was allotted to Brutus, Africa to Caſſius, Aſia to Trebonius, Bithynia to Cimber, and the other Brutus had that part of Gaul which lies upon the Po.

Cæſar's will, and his funeral came next in queſtion. Antony propoſed that the will ſhould be read in public;

 and

and that the funeral ſhould not be private, or without proper magnificence, leaſt ſuch treatment ſhould exaſperate the people. Caſſius ſtrongly oppoſed this; But Brutus agreed to it, and here he fell into a ſecond error. His preſervation of ſo formidable an enemy as Antony, was a miſtaken thing; but his giving up the management of Cæſar's funeral to him, was an irreparable fault. The publication of the will had an immediate tendency to inſpire the people with a paſſionate regret for the death of Cæſar; for he had left to each Roman citizen ſeventy-five drachmas, beſide the public uſe of his gardens beyond the Tyber, where now the temple of Fortune ſtands. When the body was brought into the *forum*, and Antony ſpoke the uſual funeral eulogium, as he perceived the people affected by his ſpeech, he endeavoured ſtill more to work upon their paſſions, by unfolding the bloody garment of Cæſar, ſhewing them in how many places it was pierced, and pointing out the number of his wounds. This threw every thing into confuſion. Some called aloud to kill the murderers; others, as was formerly done in the caſe of that ſeditious demagogue Clodius, ſnatched the benches and tables from the neighbouring ſhops, and and erected a pile for the body of Cæſar, in the midſt of conſecrated places and ſurrounding temples. As ſoon the pile was in flames, the people, crowding from all parts, ſnatched the half-burnt brands, and ran round the city to fire the houſes of the conſpirators; but they were on their guard againſt ſuch an aſſault, and prevented the effects.

There was a poet named Cinna, who had no concern in the conſpiracy, but was rather a friend of Cæſar's. This man dreamt that Cæſar invited him to ſupper, and that, when he declined the invitation, he took him by the hand, and conſtrained him to follow him into a dark and deep place, which he entered with the utmoſt horror. The agitation of his ſpirits threw him into a fever, which laſted the remaining part of the night. In the morning, however, when Cæſar was to be interred, he was aſhamed of abſenting himſelf from the ſolemnity: he, therefore, mingled with the multitude that had juſt been enraged by the ſpeech of Antony; and being unfortunately miſtaken for that Cinna, who had before inveighed againſt Cæſar, he was torn to pieces. This, more than any thing, except Antony's change of conduct, alarmed

Brutus

Brutus and his party. They now thought it neceſſary to conſult their ſafety, and retired to Antium. Here they ſat down, with an intent to return as ſoon as the popular fury ſhould ſubſide; and for this, conſidering the inconſtancy of the multitude, they concluded that they ſhould not have long to wait. The ſenate, moreover, was in their intereſt; and though they did not puniſh the murderers of Cinna, they cauſed ſtrict inquiry to be made after thoſe who attempted to burn the houſes of the conſpirators. Antony too became obnoxious to the people; for they ſuſpected him of erecting another kind of monarchy. The return of Brutus was, conſequently, wiſhed for; and, as he was to exhibit ſhews and games in his capacity as prætor, it was expected. Brutus, however, had received intelligence, that ſeveral of Cæſar's old ſoldiers, to whom he had diſtributed lands and colonies, had ſtolen, by ſmall parties, into Rome, and that they lay in wait for him: he, therefore, did not think proper to come himſelf; notwithſtanding which, the ſhews that were exhibited on his account were extremely magnificent: for he had bought a conſiderable number of wild beaſts, and ordered that they ſhould all be reſerved for that purpoſe. He went himſelf as far as Naples to collect a number of comedians; and being informed of one Canutius, who was much admired upon the ſtage, he deſired his friends to uſe all their intereſt to bring him to Rome. Canutius was a Grecian; and Brutus, therefore, thought that no compulſion ſhould be uſed. He wrote likewiſe to Cicero, and begged that he would, by all means, be preſent at the public ſhews.

Such was the ſituation of his affairs, when, on the arrival of Octavius at Rome, things took another turn. He was ſon to the ſiſter of Cæſar, who had adopted and appointed him his heir. He was purſuing his ſtudies at Apollonia, and in expectation of meeting Cæſar there on his intended expedition againſt the Parthians, at the time when Cæſar was ſlain. Upon hearing of this event, he immediately came to Rome, and, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, aſſumed the name of Cæſar. By punctually diſtributing amongſt the citizens the money that was left them by his uncle, he ſoon took the lead of Antony; and, by his liberality to the ſoldiers, he brought over to his party the greateſt number of thoſe who had ſerved under Cæſar. Cicero likewiſe, who hated Antony,

joined his intereſt. And this was ſo much reſented by Brutus, that, in his letters, he reproached him in the ſevereſt terms. "He perceived," he ſaid, "that Cicero "was tame enough to bear a tyrant, and was only afraid "of the tyrant that hated him;—that his compliments to "Octavius were meant to purchaſe an eaſy ſlavery: but "our anceſtors," ſaid Brutus, "ſcorned to bear even a "gentle maſter." He added, that "As to the meaſures of "peace, or war, he was undetermined; but in one thing "he was reſolved, which was, *never to be a ſlave!*" He expreſſed his ſurpriſe, "That Cicero ſhould prefer an "infamous accommodation even to the dangers of civil "war; and that the only fruits he expected from deſtroy- "ing the tyranny of Antony, ſhould be the eſtabliſhment "of a new tyrant in Octavius." Such was the ſpirit of his firſt letters.

The city was now divided into two factions: ſome joined Cæſar, others remained with Antony, and the army was ſold to the beſt bidder. Brutus, of courſe, deſpaired of any deſirable event; and, being reſolved to leave Italy, he went by land to Lucania, and came to the maritime town of Elea. Porcia, being to return from thence to Rome, endeavoured, as well as poſſible, to conceal the ſorrow that oppreſſed her; but, notwithſtanding her magnanimity, a picture which ſhe found there betrayed her diſtreſs. The ſubject was the parting of Hector and Andromache. He was repreſented delivering his ſon, Aſtyanax, into her arms, and the eyes of Andromache were fixed upon him. The reſemblance that this picture bore to her own diſtreſs, made her burſt into tears the moment ſhe beheld it; and ſeveral times ſhe viſited the melancholy emblem, to gaze upon it, and weep before it. On this occaſion, Acilies, one of Brutus's friends, repeated that paſſage in Homer, where Andromache ſays,

> Yet while my *Hector* ſtill ſurvives, I ſee
> My father, mother, brethren, all in thee. Pope.

To which Brutus replied, with a ſmile, "But I muſt not "anſwer Porcia as Hector did Andromache:

> ——— Haſten to thy taſks at home,
> There guide the ſpindle and direct the loom. Pope.

"She has not perſonal ſtrength, indeed, to ſuſtain the "toils we undergo; but her ſpirit is not leſs active in "the

"the cauſe of her country." This anecdote we have from Bibulus, the ſon of Porcia.

From Elea, Brutus ſailed for Athens, where he was received with high applauſe, and inveſted with public honours. There he took up his reſidence with a particular friend, and attended the lectures of Theomneſtus the academic, and Cratippus the peripatetic; devoting himſelf wholly to literary purſuits. Yet in this unſuſpected ſtate he was privately preparing for war. He deſpatched Heroſtratus into Macedonia to gain the principal officers in that province; and he ſecured by his kindneſs all the young Romans who were then ſtudents at Athens. Amongſt theſe was the ſon of Cicero, on whom he beſtowed the higheſt encomiums; and ſaid, that he could never ceaſe admiring the ſpirit of that young man, who bore ſuch a mortal hatred to tyrants.

At length he began to act more publicly; and being informed that ſome the Roman ſhips, laden with money, were returning from Aſia, under the command of a man of honour, a friend of his, he met him at Caryſtus, a city of Eubœa. There he had a conference with him, and requeſted that he would give up the ſhips. By the bye, it happened to be Brutus's birth-day, on which occaſion he gave a ſplendid entertainment, and while they were drinking *Victory to Brutus*, and *Liberty to Rome*, to encourage the cauſe, he called for a larger bowl. While he held it in his hand, without any viſible relation to the ſubject they were upon, he pronounced this verſe:

My fall was doom'd by Phœbus and by Fate.

Some hiſtorians ſay, that *Apollo* was the word he gave his ſoldiers in the laſt battle at Philippi; and, of courſe, conclude, that this exclamation was a preſage of his defeat. Antiſtius, the commander of the ſhips, gave him five hundred thouſand drachmas of the money he was carrying to Italy. The remains of Pompey's army that were ſcattered about Theſſaly, readily joined his ſtandard; and, beſides theſe, he took five hundred horſe, whom Cinna was conducting to Dolabella in Aſia. He then ſailed to Demetrias, and ſeized a large quantity of arms, which Julius Cæſar had provided for the Parthian war, and which were now to be ſent to Antony. Macedonia was delivered up to him by Hortenſius the prætor; and all the neighbouring princes readily offered their aſſiſtance.

aſſiſtance. When news was received that Caius, the brother of Antony, had marched through Italy, to join the forces under Gabinius in Dyrrachium and Apollonia, Brutus determined to ſeize them before he arrived, and made a forced march with ſuch troops as were at hand. The way was rugged, and the ſnows were deep; but he moved with ſuch expedition, that his ſuttlers were left a long way behind. When he had almoſt reached Dyrrachium, he was ſeized with the diſorder called *Bulimia*, or violent hunger, occaſioned by cold and fatigue. This diſorder effects both men and cattle, after fatigues in the ſnow. Whether it is, that, perſpiration being prevented by the extreme cold, the vital heat is confined, and more immediately conſumes the aliment; or that a keen and ſubtle vapour riſing from the melted ſnow, penetrates the body, and deſtroys the heat by expelling it through the pores—for the ſweatings ſeem to ariſe from the heat contending with the cold, which being repelled by the latter, the vapoury ſteam is diffuſed over the ſurface of the body. But of this I have treated more largely in another place. Brutus growing very faint, and no proviſions being at hand, his ſervants were forced to go to the gates of the enemy, and beg bread of the centinels. When they were informed of the diſtreſs of Brutus, they brought him meat and drink in their own hands; and in return for their humanity, when he had taken the city, he ſhewed kindneſs both to them and to the reſt of the inhabitants.

When Caius arrived in Apollonia, he ſummoned the ſoldiers that were quartered near the city to join him; but finding that they were all with Brutus, and ſuſpecting that thoſe in Apollonia favoured the ſame party, he went to Buthrotus. Brutus, however, found means to deſtroy three of his cohorts in their march. Caius, after this, attempted to ſeize ſome poſts near Byllis, but was routed in a ſet battle by young Cicero, to whom Brutus had given the command of the army on that occaſion, and whoſe conduct he made uſe of frequently, and with ſucceſs. Caius was ſoon after ſurpriſed in a marſh, from whence he had no means to eſcape; and Brutus finding him in his power, ſurrounded him with his cavalry, and gave orders that none of his men ſhould be killed; for he expected that they would quickly join him of their own accord. As he expected, it come to paſs. They ſurrendered

rendered both themſelves and their general; ſo that Brutus had now a very reſpectable army. He treated Caius for a long time with all poſſible reſpect; nor did he diveſt him of any enſigns of dignity that he bore, though, it is ſaid, that he received letters from ſeveral perſons at Rome, and, particularly, from Cicero, adviſing him to put him to death. At length, however, when he found that he was ſecretly practiſing with his officers, and exciting ſeditions amongſt the ſoldiers, he put him on board a ſhip, and kept him cloſe priſoner. The ſoldiers that he had corrupted retired into Apollonia, from whence they ſent to Brutus, that if he would come to them there, they would return to their duty. Brutus anſwered, "That this was "not the cuſtom of the Romans, but that thoſe who had "offended ſhould come in perſon to their general, and ſo-"licit his forgiveneſs." This they did, and were accordingly pardoned.

He was now preparing to go into Aſia, when he was informed of a change in affairs at Rome. Young Cæſar, ſupported by the ſenate, had got the better of Antony, and driven him out of Italy; but, at the ſame time, he began to be no leſs formidable himſelf; for he ſolicited the conſulſhip contrary to law, and kept in pay an unneceſſary army. Conſequently the ſenate, though they, at firſt ſupported, were now diſſatisfied with his meaſures. And as they began to caſt their eyes on Brutus, and decreed or confirmed ſeveral provinces to him, Cæſar was under ſome apprehenſions. He, therefore, deſpatched meſſengers to Antony, and deſired that a reconciliation might take place. After this he drew up his army around the city, and carried the conſulſhip, though but a boy, in his twentieth year, as he tells us in his Commentaries. He was no ſooner conſul than he ordered a judicial proceſs to iſſue againſt Brutus and his accomplices, for murdering the firſt magiſtrate in Rome without trial, or condemnation. Lucius Cornificius was appointed to accuſe Brutus, and Marcus Agrippa accuſed Caſſius; neither of whom appearing, the judges were obliged to paſs ſentence againſt both. It is ſaid that when the crier, as uſual, cited Brutus to appear, the people could not ſuppreſs their ſighs; and perſons of the firſt diſtinction heard it in ſilent dejection. Publius Silicius was obſerved to burſt into tears; and this was the cauſe why he was afterwards proſcribed. The triumviri, Cæſar, Antony, and Lepidus,

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being now reconciled, divided the provinces amongst them, and settled that list of murder, in which two hundred citizens, and Cicero amongst the rest, were proscribed.

When the report of these proceedings was brought into Macedonia, Brutus found himself under a necessity of sending orders to Hortensius to kill Caius, the brother of Antony, in revenge of the death of Cicero his friend, and Brutus Albinus his kinsman, who was slain. This was the reason why Antony, when he had taken Hortensius at the battle of Philippi, slew him upon his brother's tomb. Brutus says, that he was more ashamed of the cause of Cicero's death than grieved at the event; while he saw Rome enslaved more by her own fault, than by the fault of her tyrants, and continue a tame spectator of such scenes as ought not to have been heard of without horror.

The army of Brutus was now considerable, and he ordered its route into Asia, while a fleet was preparing in Bithynia and at Cyzicum. As he marched by land, he settled the affairs of the cities, and gave audience to the princes of those countries through which he passed. He sent orders to Cassius, who was in Syria, to give up his intended journey into Egypt, and join him.—On this occasion he tells him, that their collecting forces to destroy the tyrants was not to secure an empire to themselves, but to deliver their fellow-citizens; that they should never forget this great object of their undertaking, but, adhering to their first intentions, keep Italy within their eye, and hasten to rescue their country from oppression.

Cassius, accordingly, set out to join him, and Brutus at the same time making some progress to meet him, their interview was at Smyrna. Till this meeting, they had not seen each other since they parted at the Piræus of Athens, when Cassius set out for Syria, and Brutus for Macedonia. The forces they had respectively collected, gave them great joy, and made them confident of success. From Italy they had fled, like solitary exiles, without money, without arms, without a ship, a soldier, or a town to fly to. Yet now, in so short a time, they found themselves supplied with shipping and money, with an army of horse and foot, and in a condition of contending for the empire of Rome. Cassius was no less respectful to Brutus, than Brutus was to him; but the latter would generally wait upon him, as he was the older man, and

and of a feebler conſtitution. Caſſius was eſteemed an able ſoldier, but of a fiery diſpoſition, and ambitious to command rather by fear than affection: though at the ſame time, with his familiar acquaintance, he was eaſy in his manners, and fond of raillery to exceſs. Brutus, on account of his virtue, was reſpected by the people, beloved by his friends, admired by men of principle, and not hated even by his enemies. He was mild in his temper, and had a greatneſs of mind that was ſuperior to anger, avarice, and the love of pleaſure. He was firm and inflexible in his opinions, and zealous in every purſuit, where juſtice or honour were concerned. The people had the higheſt opinion of his integrity and ſincerity in every undertaking, and this naturally inſpired them with confidence and affection. Even Pompey the Great had hardly ever ſo much credit with them: for, who ever imagined, that, if he had conquered Cæſar, he would have ſubmitted to the laws, and would not have retained his power under the title of conſul or dictator, or ſome more ſpecious and popular name? Caſſius, on the contrary, a man of violent paſſions, and rapacious avarice, was ſuſpected of expoſing himſelf to toil and danger, rather from a thirſt of power than an attachment to the liberties of his country. The former diſturbers of the commonwealth, Cinna, and Marias and Carbo, evidently ſet their country as a ſtake for the winner, and hardly ſcrupled to own that they fought for empire. But the very enemies of Brutus never charge him with this. Even Antony has been heard to ſay, that Brutus was the only conſpirator, who had the ſenſe of honour and juſtice for his motive; and that the reſt were wholly actuated by malice or envy. It is clear too, from what Brutus himſelf ſays, that he finally and principally relied on his own virtue. Thus he writes to Atticus immediately before an engagement, "That his affairs were in the moſt deſirable ſituation imaginable; for that either he ſhould conquer, and reſtore liberty to Rome, or die, and be free from ſlavery; that every thing elſe was reduced to certainty; and that this only remained a queſtion, Whether they ſhould live or die free men? He adds, that Mark Antony was properly puniſhed for his folly; who, when he might have ranked with the Bruti, the Caſſii, and Catos, choſe rather to be the underling of Octavius; and that if he did not fall in the approaching

"battle, they would very ſoon be at variance with each "other." In which he ſeems to have been a true pro-"phet."

Whilſt they were at Smyrna, Brutus deſired Caſſius to let him have part of the vaſt treaſure he had collected, becauſe his own was chiefly expended in equipping a fleet, to gain the ſuperiority at ſea. But the friends of Caſſius adviſed him againſt this; alleging, that it would be abſurd to give Brutus that money, which he had ſaved with ſo much frugality, and acquired with ſo much envy, merely that Brutus might increaſe his popularity, by diſtributing it amongſt the ſoldiers. Caſſius, however, gave him a third of what he had, and then they parted for their reſpective commands. Caſſius behaved with great ſeverity on the taking of Rhodes: though when he firſt entered the city, and was ſaluted with the title of king and maſter, he anſwered, "That he was neither their king nor their maſter, "but the deſtroyer of him who would have been both." Brutus demanded ſupplies of men and money from the Lycians; but Naucrates, an orator, perſuaded the cities to rebel, and ſome of the inhabitants poſted themſelves on the hills with an intent to oppoſe the paſſage of Brutus. Brutus, at firſt, deſpatched a party of horſe, which ſurpriſed them at dinner, and killed ſix hundred of them. But afterwards, when he had taken the adjacent towns and villages, he gave up the priſoners without ranſom, and hoped to gain them to his party by clemency. Their former ſufferings, however, made them reject his humanity, and thoſe that ſtill reſiſted being driven into the city of Xanthus, were there beſieged. As a river ran cloſe by the town, ſeveral attempted to eſcape by ſwimming and diving; but they were prevented by nets let down for that purpoſe, which had little bells at the top, to give notice when any one was taken. The Xanthians afterwards made a ſally in the night, and ſet fire to ſeveral of the battering engines; but they were perceived and driven back by the Romans: at the ſame time the violence of the winds drove the flames on the city, ſo that ſeveral houſes near the battlements took fire. Brutus being apprehenſive that the whole city would be deſtroyed, ſent his own ſoldiers to aſſiſt the inhabitants in quenching the fire. But the Lycians were ſeized with an incredible deſpair, a kind of frenzy, which can no otherwiſe be deſcribed than by calling it a paſſionate deſire of death. Women and children, freemen and

and ſlaves, people of all ages and conditions, ſtrove to repulſe the ſoldiers as they came to their aſſiſtance from the walls. With their own hands they collected wood and reeds, and all manner of combuſtibles, to ſpread the fire over the city, and encouraged its progreſs by every means in their power. Thus aſſiſted, the flames flew over the whole with dreadful rapidity; whilſt Brutus, extremely ſhocked at this calamity, rode round the walls, and ſtretching forth his hands to the inhabitants, intreated them to ſpare themſelves and their city. Regardleſs of his entreaties, they ſought by every means to put an end to their lives. Men, women, and even children, with hideous cries, leaped into the flames. Some threw themſelves headlong from the walls, and others fell upon the ſwords of their parents, opening their breaſts, and begging to be ſlain.

When the city was in a great meaſure reduced to aſhes, a woman was found who had hanged herſelf, with her young child faſtened to her neck, and the torch in her hand, with which ſhe had fired her houſe. This deplorable object ſo much affected Brutus, that he wept when he was told of it, and proclaimed a reward to any ſoldier who could ſave a Xanthian. It is ſaid that no more than a hundred and fifty were preſerved, and thoſe againſt their will. Thus the Xanthians, as if fate had appointed certain periods for their deſtruction, after a long courſe of years, ſunk into that deplorable ruin, in which the ſame raſh deſpair had involved their anceſtors in the Perſian war: for they too burned their city, and deſtroyed themſelves.

After this, when the Patareans likewiſe made reſiſtance, Brutus was under great anxiety whether he ſhould beſiege them; for he was afraid they ſhould follow the deſperate meaſures of the Xanthians. However, having ſome of their women whom he had taken priſoners, he diſmiſſed them without ranſom; and thoſe returning to their huſbands and parents, who happened to be people of the firſt diſtinction, ſo much extolled the juſtice and moderation of Brutus, that they prevailed on them to ſubmit, and put their city in his hands. The adjacent cities followed their example, and found that his humanity exceeded their hopes. Caſſius compelled every Rhodian to give up all the gold and ſilver in his poſſeſſion, by which he amaſſed eight thouſand talents; and yet he laid the public under a fine of five hundred talents more; but Brutus

took only a hundred and fifty talents of the Lycians, and, without doing them any other injury, led his army into Ionia.

Brutus, in the courſe of this expedition, did many acts of juſtice; and was vigilant in the diſpenſation of rewards and puniſhments. An inſtance of this I ſhall relate, becauſe both he himſelf, and every honeſt Roman, was particularly pleaſed with it. When Pompey the Great, after his overthrow at Pharſalia, fled into Egypt, and landed near Peluſium, the tutors and miniſters of young Ptolemy conſulted what meaſures they ſhould take on the occaſion. But they were of different opinions. Some were for receiving him, others for excluding him out of Egypt. Theodotus, a Chian by birth, and a teacher of rhetoric by profeſſion, who then attended the king in that capacity, was, for want of abler miniſters, admitted to the council. This man inſiſted, that both were in the wrong; thoſe who were for receiving, and thoſe who were for expelling Pompey. The beſt meaſure they could take, he ſaid, would be to put him to death, and concluded his ſpeech with the proverb, that *dead men do not bite.* The council entered into his opinion; and Pompey the Great, an example of the incredible mutability of fortune, fell a ſacrifice to the arguments of a ſophiſt, as that ſophiſt lived afterwards to boaſt. Not long after, upon Cæſar's arrival in Egypt, ſome of the murderers received their proper reward, and were put to death: but Theodotus made his eſcape.—Yet, though for a while he gained from fortune the poor privilege of a wandering and deſpicable life, he fell at laſt into the hands of Brutus, as he was paſſing through Aſia; and by paying the forfeit of his baſeneſs, became more memorable from his death than from any thing in his life.

About this time Brutus ſent for Caſſius to Sardis, and went with his friends to meet him. The whole army being drawn up, ſaluted both the leaders with the title of *Imperator*. But, as it uſually happens in great affairs, where many friends and many officers are engaged, mutual complaints and ſuſpicions aroſe between Brutus and Caſſius. To ſettle theſe more properly, they retired into an apartment by themſelves. Expoſtulations, debates, and accuſations followed. And theſe were ſo violent, that they burſt into tears. Their friends without were ſurpriſed at the loudneſs and aſperity of the conference;

ference; but though they were apprehensive of the consequence, they durst not interfere, because they had been expressly forbidden to enter. Favonius, however, an imitator of Cato, but rather an enthusiast than rational in his philosophy, attempted to enter. The servants in waiting endeavoured to prevent him, but it was not easy to stop the impetuous Favonius. He was violent in his whole conduct, and valued himself less in his dignity as a senator, than on a kind of cynical freedom on saying every thing he pleased; nor was this unentertaining to those who could bear with his impertinence. However, he broke through the door and entered the apartment, pronouncing, in a theatrical tone, what Nestor says in Homer,

> Young men, be rul'd—I'm older than you both.

Cassius laughed: But Brutus thrust him out, telling him that he pretended to be a *cynic*, but was in reality a *dog*. This, however, put an end to the dispute; and for that time they parted. Cassius gave an entertainment in the evening, to which Brutus invited his friends. When they were seated, Favonius came in from bathing. Brutus called aloud to him, telling him he was not invited, and bade him go to the lower end of the table. Favonius, notwithstanding, thrust himself in, and sat down in the middle. On that occasion there was much learning and good humour in the conversation.

The day following, one Lucius Pella, who had been prætor, and employed in offices of trust, being impeached by the Sardians of embezzling the public money, was disgraced and condemned by Brutus. This was very mortifying to Cassius; for, a little before, two of his own friends had been accused of the same crime; but he had absolved them in public, and contenting himself with giving them a private reproof, continued them in office. Of course, he charged Brutus with too rigid an exertion of the laws at a time when lenity was much more politic. Brutus, on the other hand, reminded him of the ides of March, the time when they had killed Cæsar; who was not, personally speaking, the scourge of mankind, but only abetted and supported those that were, with his power. He bade him consider, that if the neglect of justice were in any case to be connived at, it should have been done before; and that they had better have borne

with the oppreſſions of Cæſar's friends, than ſuffered the mal-practices of their own to paſs with impunity: "For "then," continued he, "we could have been blamed only "for cowardice, but now, after all we have undergone, we "ſhall lie under the imputation of injuſtice." Such were the principles of Brutus.

When they were about to leave Aſia, Brutus, it is ſaid, had an extraordinary apparition. Naturally watchful, ſparing in his diet, and aſſiduous in buſineſs, he allowed himſelf but little time for ſleep. In the day he never ſlept, nor in the night, till all buſineſs was over, and, the reſt being retired, he had nobody to converſe with. But at this time, involved as he was in the operations of war, and ſolicitous for the event, he only ſlumbered a little after ſupper, and ſpent the reſt of the night in ordering his moſt urgent affairs. When theſe were deſpatched, he employed himſelf in reading till the third watch, when the tribunes and centurions came to him for orders. Thus, a little before he left Aſia, he was ſitting alone in his tent, by a dim light, and at a late hour. The whole army lay in ſleep and ſilence, while the general, wrapt in meditation, thought he perceived ſomething enter his tent: turning towards the door, he ſaw a horrible and monſtrous ſpectre ſtanding ſilently by his ſide. "What art thou?" ſaid he boldly, "Art thou god or man? And what is thy buſineſs with "me?" The ſpectre anſwered, "I am thy evil genius, "Brutus! Thou wilt ſee me at Philippi." To which he calmly replied, "I'll meet thee there." When the apparition was gone, he called his ſervants, who told him they had neither heard any noiſe, nor had ſeen any viſion. That night he did not go to reſt, but went early in the morning to Caſſius, and told him what had happened. Caſſius, who was of the ſchool of Epicurus, and uſed frequently to diſpute with Brutus on theſe ſubjects, anſwered him thus: "It is the opinion of our ſect, that not every "thing we ſee is real; for matter is evaſive, and ſenſe "deceitful. Beſides, the impreſſions it receives are, by "the quick and ſubtle influence of imagination, thrown "into a variety of forms, many of which have no arche- "types in nature: and this the imagination effects as "eaſily as we may make an impreſſion on wax. The "mind of man, having in itſelf the plaſtic powers, and "the component parts, can faſhion and vary its objects

"at

" at pleaſure. This is clear from the ſudden tranſition " of dreams, in which the imagination can educe from " the ſlighteſt principles ſuch an amazing variety of " forms, and call into exerciſe all the paſſions of the ſoul. " The mind is perpetually in motion, and that motion is " imagination, or thought. But, when the body, as in " your caſe, is fatigued with labour, it naturally ſuſ- " pends, or perverts the regular functions of the mind. " Upon the whole, it is highly improbable that there " ſhould be any ſuch beings as dæmons, or ſpirits; or that " if there were ſuch, they ſhould aſſume a human ſhape " or voice, or have any power to affect us. At the ſame " time I own I could wiſh there were ſuch beings, that " we might not rely on fleets and armies, but find the " concurrence of the gods in this our ſacred and glorious " enterprize." Such were the arguments he made uſe of to ſatisfy Brutus.

When the army began to march, two eagles perched on the two firſt ſtandards, and accompanied them as far as Philippi, being conſtantly fed by the ſoldiers; but the day before the battle, they flew away. Brutus had already reduced moſt of the nations in theſe parts; nevertheleſs he traverſed the ſea-coaſt over againſt Thaſus, that, if any hoſtile power remained, he might bring it into ſubjection. Norbanus, who was encamped in the ſtraits near Symbolum, they ſurrounded in ſuch a manner, that they obliged him to quit the place. Indeed, he narrowly eſcaped loſing his whole army, which had certainly been the caſe, had not Antony come to his relief with ſuch amazing expedition, that Brutus could not believe it to be poſſible. Cæſar, who had been kept behind by ſickneſs, joined his army about ten days after. Brutus was encamped over-againſt him; Caſſius was oppoſite to Antony. The ſpace between the two armies the Romans call the plains of Philippi. Two armies of Romans, equal in numbers to theſe, had never before met to engage each other. Cæſar's was ſomething ſuperior in numbers; but, in the ſplendor of arms and equipage, was far exceeded by that of Brutus; for moſt of their arms were of gold and ſilver, which their general had liberally beſtowed upon them. Brutus, in other things, had accuſtomed his officers to frugality; but the riches which his ſoldiers carried about with them, would at once, he thought, add to the ſpirit of the ambitious, and make the

the covetous valiant in the defence of thoſe arms, which were their principal wealth.

Cæſar made a luſtration of his army within the camp, and gave each private man a little corn, and five drachmas only for the ſacrifice. But Brutus, to ſhew his contempt of the poverty, or the avarice of Cæſar, made a public luſtration of his army in the field, and not only diſtributed cattle to each cohort for the ſacrifice, but gave fifty drachmas on the occaſion to each private man. Of courſe he was more beloved by his ſoldiers, and they were more ready to fight for him. It is reported, that, during the luſtration, an unlucky omen happened to Caſſius. The garland he was to wear at the ſacrifice was preſented to him, the wrong ſide outwards. It is ſaid too, that at a ſolemn proceſſion, ſome time before, the perſon who bore the golden image of Victory before Caſſius, happened to ſtumble, and the image fell to the ground. Several birds of prey hovered daily about the camp, and ſwarms of bees were ſeen within the trenches. Upon which the ſoothſayers ordered the part where they appeared to be ſhut up: for Caſſius, with all his Epicurean philoſophy, began to be ſuperſtitious, and the ſoldiers were extremely diſheartened by theſe omens.

For this reaſon Caſſius was inclined to protract the war, and unwilling to hazard the whole of the event of a preſent engagement. What made for this meaſure too was, that they were ſtronger in money and proviſions, but inferior in numbers. Brutus, on the other hand, was, as uſual, for an immediate deciſion; that he might either give liberty to his country, or reſcue his fellow-citizens from the toils and expences of war. He was encouraged likewiſe, by the ſucceſs his cavalry met with in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes; and ſome inſtances of deſertion and mutiny in the camp, brought over many of the friends of Caſſius to his opinion. But there was one Attellius, who ſtill oppoſed an immediate deciſion, and adviſed to put it off till the next winter. When Brutus aſked him what advantages he expected from that, he anſwered, "If I gain nothing elſe, I ſhall at leaſt live ſo "much the longer." Both Caſſius and the reſt of the officers were diſpleaſed with this anſwer; and it was determined to give battle the day following.

Brutus, that night, expreſſed great confidence and cheerfulneſs; and having paſſed the time of ſupper in phi-

philosophical conversation, he went to rest. Messala says, that Cassius supped in private with some of his most intimate friends; and that, contrary to his usual manner, he was pensive and silent. He adds, that, after supper, he took him by the hand, and pressing it close, as he commonly did, in token of his friendship, he said in Greek,—"Bear witness, Messala, that I am reduced to the same "necessity with Pompey the Great, of hazarding the liberty of my country on one battle. Yet I have confidence in our good fortune, on which we ought still to "rely, though the measures we have resolved upon are indiscreet." These, Messala tells us, were the last words that Cassius spoke, before he bade him *farewel*; and that the next day, being his birth-day, he invited Cassius to to sup with him.

Next morning, as soon as it was light, the scarlet robe, which was the signal for battle, was hung out in the tents of Brutus and Cassius; and they themselves met on the plain between the two armies. On this occasion, Cassius thus addressed himself to Brutus:—"May the gods, Brutus, make this day successful, that we may pass the rest "of our days together in prosperity. But as the most important of human events are the most uncertain; and as "we may never see each other any more, if we are unfortunate on this occasion, tell me what is your resolution "concerning flight and death?"

Brutus answered, "In the younger and less experienced part of my life, I was led, upon philosophical principles, to condemn the conduct of Cato, "in killing himself. I thought it at once impious and "unmanly to sink beneath the stroke of fortune, and to "refuse the lot that had befallen us. In my present situation, however, I am of a different opinion. So that "if heaven should now be unfavourable to our wishes, "I will no longer solicit my hopes or my fortune, but die "contented with it, such as it is. On the ides of March "I devoted my life to my country; and since that time I "have lived in liberty and glory." At these words Cassius smiled, and embracing Brutus, said, "Let us march "then against the enemy; for with these resolutions, "though we should not conquer, we have nothing to "fear?" They then consulted with their friends concerning the order of battle. Brutus desired that he might command the right wing, though the post was thought more

more proper for Caſſius on account of his experience—Caſſius, however, gave it up to him, and placed Meſſala, with the beſt of his legions, in the ſame wing. Brutus immediately drew out his cavalry, which were equipped with great magnificence; and the foot followed cloſe upon them.

Antony's ſoldiers were at this time employed in making a trench from the marſh where they were encamped, to cut off Caſſius's communication with the ſea. Cæſar lay ſtill in his tent, confined by ſickneſs. His ſoldiers were far from expecting that the enemy would come to a pitched battle. They ſuppoſed that they were only making excurſions to haraſs the trench-diggers with their light arms; and not perceiving that they were pouring in cloſe upon them, they were aſtoniſhed at the outcry they heard from the trenches. Brutus, in the mean time, ſent tickets to the ſeveral officers with the word of battle, and rode through the ranks to encourage his men. There were few who had patience to wait for the word. The greateſt part, before it could reach them, fell with loud ſhouts upon the enemy. This precipitate onſet threw the army into confuſion, and ſeparated the legions. Meſſala's legion firſt got beyond the left wing of Cæſar, and was followed by thoſe that were ſtationed near him. In their way they did nothing more than throw ſome of the outmoſt ranks into diſorder, and killed few of the enemy: their great object was to fall upon Cæſar's camp, and they made directly up to it. Cæſar himſelf, as he tells us in his Commentaries, had but juſt before been conveyed out of his tent; in conſequence of a viſion of his friend Artorius, which commanded that he ſhould be carried out of the camp. This made it believed that he was ſlain; for the ſoldiers had pierced his empty litter in many places with darts. Thoſe who were taken in the camp were put to the ſword, amongſt whom were two thouſand Lacedæmonian auxiliaries. Thoſe who attacked Cæſar's legions in front eaſily put them to the rout, and cut three legions in pieces. After this, borne along with the impetuoſity of victory, they ruſhed into the camp at the ſame time with the fugitives, and Brutus was in the midſt of them. The flank of Brutus's army was now left unguarded, by the ſeparation of the right wing, which was gone off too far in the purſuit; and the enemy perceiving this, endeavoured to take advantage of it. They

accordingly

accordingly attacked it with great fury, but could make no impreſſion on the main body, which received them with firmneſs and unſhaken reſolution. The left wing, however, which was under the command of Caſſius, was ſoon put to the rout; for the men were in great diſorder, and knew nothing of what had paſſed in the right wing. The enemy purſued him into the camp, which they plundered and deſtroyed, though neither of their generals were preſent. Antony, it is ſaid, to avoid the fury of the firſt onſet, had retired into the adjoining marſh; and Cæſar, who had been carried ſick out of the camp, was no where to be found. Nay, ſome of the ſoldiers would have perſuaded Brutus that they had killed Cæſar; deſcribing his age and perſon, and ſhewing him their bloody ſwords.

The main body of Brutus's army had now made prodigious havock of the enemy; and Brutus, in his department, was no leſs abſolutely conqueror, than Caſſius was conquered. The want of knowing this was the ruin of their affairs. Brutus neglected to relieve Caſſius, becauſe he knew not that he wanted relief.

When Brutus had deſtroyed the camp of Cæſar, and was returning from the purſuit, he was ſurpriſed that he could neither perceive the tent of Caſſius above the reſt, as uſual, nor any of thoſe that were about it: for they had been demoliſhed by the enemy, on their firſt entering the camp. Some, who were of quicker ſight than the reſt, told him, that they could perceive a motion of ſhining helmets and ſilver targets in the camp of Caſſius, and ſuppoſed, from their numbers and their armour, that they could not be thoſe who were left to guard the camp; though at the ſame time, there was not ſo great an appearance of dead bodies as there muſt have been after the defeat of ſo many legions. This gave Brutus the firſt ſuſpicion of Caſſius's misfortune; and, leaving a ſufficient guard in the enemy's camp, he called off the reſt from the purſuit, and led them, in order, to the relief of Caſſius.

The caſe of that general was this:——He was chagrined, at firſt, by the irregular conduct of Brutus's ſoldiers, who begun the attack without waiting for the command; and, afterwards, by their attention to plunder, whereby they neglected to ſurround and cut off the enemy. Thus diſſatisfied, he trifled with his command, and, for

want

want of vigilance, ſuffered himſelf to be ſurrounded by the enemy's right wing; upon which his cavalry quitted their poſt, and fled towards the ſea. The foot, likewiſe, began to give way; and though he laboured as much as poſſible to ſtop their flight, and ſnatching an enſign from the hand of one of the fugitives, fixed it at his feet, yet he was hardly able to keep his own prætorian band together: ſo that, at length, he was obliged to retire, with a very ſmall number, to a hill that overlooked the plain. Yet here he could diſcover nothing; for he was ſhort-ſighted, and it was with ſome difficulty that he could perceive his own camp plundered. His companions, however, ſaw a large detachment of horſe, which Brutus had ſent to their relief, making up to them. Theſe Caſſius concluded to be the enemy that were in purſuit of him; notwithſtanding which, he deſpatched Titinius to reconnoitre them. When the cavalry of Brutus ſaw this faithful friend of Caſſius approach, they ſhouted for joy. His acquaintance leapt from their horſes to embrace him, and the reſt rode round him with claſhing of arms, and all the clamorous expreſſions of gladneſs. This circumſtance had a fatal effect. Caſſius took it for granted that Titinius was ſeized by the enemy, and regretted, that, through a weak deſire of life, he had ſuffered his friend to fall into their hands. When he had expreſſed himſelf to this effect, he retired into an empty tent, accompanied only by his freedman Pindarus, whom, ever ſince the defeat of Craſſus, he had retained for a particular purpoſe. In that defeat, he eſcaped out of the hands of the Parthians; but now, wrapping his robe about his face, he laid bare his neck, and commanded Pindarus to cut off his head. This was done; for his head was found ſevered from his body: but whether Pindarus did it by his maſter's command, has been ſuſpected; becauſe he never afterwards appeared. It was ſoon diſcovered who the cavalry were, and Titinius, crowned with garlands, came to the place where he left Caſſius. When the lamentations of his friends informed him of the unhappy fate of his general, he ſeverely reproached himſelf for the tardineſs which had occaſioned it, and fell upon his ſword.

Brutus, when he was aſſured of the defeat of Caſſius, made all poſſible haſte to his relief; but he knew nothing of his death till he came up to his camp. There he lamented over his body, and called him *the laſt of Romans*;

*mans*; intimating, that Rome would never produce another man of equal ſpirit. He ordered his funeral to be celebrated at Thaſus, that it might not occaſion any diſorder in the camp. His diſperſed and dejected ſoldiers he collected and encouraged: and as they had been ſtripped of every thing by the enemy, he promiſed them two thouſand drachmas a man. This munificence at once encouraged and ſurpriſed them: they attended him at his departure with great acclamations, and complimented him as the only general of the four who had not been beaten. Brutus was confident of victory, and the event juſtified that confidence: for, with a few legions, he overcame all that oppoſed him; and if moſt of his ſoldiers had not paſſed the enemy, in purſuit of plunder, the battle muſt have been deciſive in his favour. He loſt eight thouſand men, including the ſervants, whem he calls *Briges*. Meſſala ſays, he ſuppoſes the enemy loſt more than twice that number. And, of courſe, they were more diſcouraged than Brutus, till Demetrius, a ſervant of Caſſius, went over to Antony in the evening, and carried him his maſter's robe and ſword, which he had taken from the dead body. This ſo effectually encouraged the enemy, that they were drawn up in form of battle by break of day. Both camps, in the occuption of Brutus, involved him in difficulties. His own, full of priſoners, required a ſtrong guard. At the ſame time, many of the ſoldiers of Caſſius murmured at their change of maſter, and the vanquiſhed were naturally envious and jealous of the victors. He, therefore, thought proper to draw up his army, but not to fight.

All the ſlaves he had taken priſoners, being found practiſing with his ſoldiers, were put to the ſword: but moſt of the freemen and citizens were diſmiſſed; and he told them, at the ſame time, that they were more truly priſoners in the hands of the enemy than in his; with them, he ſaid, they were ſlaves indeed; but with him, freemen and citizens of Rome. He was obliged, however, to diſmiſs them privately; for they had implacable enemies amongſt his own friends and officers. Amongſt the priſoners were Volumnius, a mimic, and Saculio, a buffoon, of whom Brutus took no notice, till they were brought before him, and accuſed of continuing, even in their captivity, their ſcurrilous jeſts and abuſive language. Yet ſtill taken up with more important concerns, he paid no

no regard to the accuſation; but Maſſala Corvinus was of opinion, that they ſhould be publicly whipped, and ſent naked to the enemy, as proper aſſociates and convivial companions for ſuch generals. Some were entertained with the idea, and laughed; but Publius Caſca, the firſt that wounded Cæſar, obſerved, that it was indecent to celebrate the obſequies of Caſſius with jeſting and laughter. "As for you, Brutus," ſaid he, "it will be ſeen what "eſteem you have for the memory of that general, when "you have either puniſhed, or pardoned thoſe who ridi- "cule and revile him." Brutus reſented this expoſtulation, and ſaid, "Why is this buſineſs thrown upon me, "Caſca! Why do not you do what you think proper?" This anſwer was conſidered as an aſſent to their death; ſo the poor wretches were carried off and ſlain.

He now gave the promiſed rewards to his ſoldiers; and after gently rebuking them for beginning the aſſault without waiting for the word of battle, he promiſed, that if they acquitted themſelves to his ſatisfaction in the next engagement, he would give them up the cities of Lacedæmon and Theſſalonica to plunder. This is the only circumſtance in his life, for which no apology can be made. For though Antony and Cæſar afterwards acted with more unbounded cruelty in rewarding their ſoldiers; though they deprived moſt of the ancient inhabitants of Italy of their lands, and gave them to thoſe who had no title to them; yet they acted conſiſtently with their firſt principle, which was the acquiſition of empire and arbitrary power. But Brutus maintained ſuch a reputation for virtue, that he was neither allowed to conquer, nor even to ſave himſelf, except on the ſtricteſt principles of honour and juſtice: more particularly, ſince the death of Caſſius, to whom, if any act of violence were committed, it was generally imputed. However, as ſailors, when their rudder is broken in a ſtorm, ſubſtitute ſome other piece of wood in its place; and though they cannot ſteer ſo well as before, do the beſt they can in their neceſſity; ſo Brutus, at the head of ſo vaſt an army, and ſuch important affairs, unaſſiſted by any officer that was equal to the charge, was obliged to make uſe of ſuch adviſers as he had; and he generally followed the counſel of thoſe who propoſed any thing that might bring Caſſius's ſoldiers to order. For theſe were extremely untractable;

inſolent

insolent in the camp for want of their general, though cowardly in the field, from the remembrance of their defeat.

The affairs of Cæsar and Antony were not in a much better condition. Provisions were scarce, and the marshy situation of their camp made them dread the winter. They already began to fear the inconveniences of it; for the autumnal rains had fallen heavy after the battle, and their tents were filled with mire and water; which, from the coldness of the weather, immediately froze. In this situation, they received intelligence of their loss at sea. Their fleet, which was coming from Italy with a large supply of soldiers, was met by that of Brutus, and so totally defeated, that the few who escaped were reduced by famine to eat the sails and tackle of the ships. It was now determined, on Cæsar's side, that they should come to battle, before Brutus was made acquainted with his success. It appears that the fight, both by sea and land, was on the same day; but, by some accident, rather than the fault of their officers, Brutus knew nothing of his victory till twenty days after. Had he been informed of it, he would never, certainly, have hazarded a second battle: for he had provisions sufficient for a considerable length of time, and his army was so advantageously posted, that it was safe both from the injuries of the weather and the incursions of the enemy. Besides, knowing that he was wholly master at sea, and partly victorious by land, he would have had every thing imaginable to encourage him; and could not have been urged to any dangerous measures by despair.

But it seems that the republican form of government was no longer to subsist in Rome; that it necessarily required a monarchy; and that providence, to remove the only man who could oppose its destined master, kept the knowledge of that victory from him till it was too late. And yet, how near was he to receiving the intelligence! The very evening before the engagement, a deserter, named Clodius, came over from the enemy to tell him, that Cæsar was informed of the loss of his fleet, and that this was the reason of his hastening the battle. The deserter, however, was considered either as designing or ill informed: his intelligence was disregarded, and he was not even admitted into the presence of Brutus.

That

That night, they say, the spectre appeared again to Brutus, and assumed its former figure, but vanished without speaking. Yet Publius Volumnius, a philosophical man, who had borne arms with Brutus during the whole war, makes no mention of this prodigy; though he says, that the first standard was covered with a swarm of bees; and that the arm of one of the officers sweated oil of roses, which would not cease though they often wiped it off. He says too, that immediately before the battle, two eagles fought in the space between the two armies; and that there was an incredible silence and attention in the field, till that on the side of Brutus was beaten and flew away. The story of the Ethiopian is well known, who meeting the standard-bearer opening the gate of the camp, was cut in pieces by the soldiers; for *that* they interpreted as an ill omen.

When Brutus had drawn up his army in form of battle, he paused some time before he gave the word. While he was visiting the ranks, he had suspicions of some, and heard accusations of others. The cavalry he found had no ardor for the attack, but seemed waiting to see what the foot would do. Besides, Camulatus, a soldier in the highest estimation for valour, rode close by Brutus, and went over to the enemy in his sight. This hurt him inexpressibly; and partly out of anger, partly from fear of further desertion and treachery, he led his forces against the enemy, about three in the afternoon. Where he fought in person, he was still successful. He charged the enemy's left wing, and the cavalry following the impression which the foot had made, it was put to the rout. But when the other wing of Brutus was ordered to advance, the inferiority of their numbers made them apprehensive that they should be surrounded by the enemy. For this reason they extended their ranks in order to cover more ground; by which means the centre of the wing was so much weakened, that it could not sustain the shock of the enemy, but fled at the first onset. After their dispersion, the enemy surrounded Brutus, who did every thing that the bravest and most expert general could do in his situation, and whose conduct at least entitled him to victory. But what seemed an advantage in the first engagement, proved a disadvantage in the second. In the former battle, that wing of the enemy which was

conquered

conquered was totally cut off; but most of the men in the conquered wing of Cassius were saved *. This, at the time, might appear an advantage, but it proved a prejudice. The remembrance of their former defeat, filled them with terror and confusion, which they spread through the greatest part, of the army.

Marcus, the son of Cato, was slain fighting amidst the bravest of the young nobility. He scorned alike either to fly, or to yield; but, avowing who he was, and assuming his father's name, still used his sword, till he fell upon the heaps of the slaughtered enemy. Many other brave men, who exposed themselves for the preservation of Brutus, fell at the same time.

Lucilius, a man of great worth, and his intimate friend, observed some barbarian horse riding full speed against Brutus in particular, and was determined to stop them, though at the hazard of his own life. He, therefore, told them that he was Brutus; and they believed him, because he pretended to be afraid of Cæsar, and desired to be conveyed to Antony. Exulting in their capture, and thinking themselves peculiarly fortunate, they carried him along with them by night, having previously sent an account to Antony of their success, who was infinitely pleased with it, and came out to them. Many others, likewise, when they heard that Brutus was brought alive, assembled to see him. And some pitied his misfortunes, while others accused him of an inglorious meanness, in suffering the love of life to betray him into the hands of barbarians. When he approached, and Antony was deliberating in what manner he should receive Brutus, Lucilius first addressed him, and, with great intrepidity, said, "Antony, "be assured that Brutus neither is, nor will be taken by "an enemy. Forbid it heaven, that fortune should have "such a triumph over virtue! Whether he shall be found "alive or dead, he will be found in a state becoming "Brutus. I imposed on your soldiers, and am prepared "to suffer the worst you can inflict upon me." Thus spoke Lucilius, to the no small astonishment of those that were

* There is no defect in the original as the former translator imagines. He supposed the defeat of Cassius's soldiers to be in the present, and not in the former battle. This led him into the difficulty, which he increased by translating πλεον εσχε, *Victory*, instead of Advantage.

were present. When Antony, addressing himself to those that brought him, said, "I perceive, fellow-soldiers, that "you are angry at this imposition of Lucilius. But you "have really got a better booty than you intended. You "sought an enemy; but you have brought me a friend. "I know not how I should have treated Brutus, had you "brought him alive: but I am sure that it is better to "have such a man as Lucilius for a friend, than for an "enemy." When he said this, he embraced Lucilius, recommending him to the care of one of his friends; and he ever after found him faithful to his interest.

Brutus, attended by a few of his officers and friends, having passed a brook that was overhung with cliffs, and shaded with trees, and being overtaken by night, stopped in a cavity under a large rock. There, casting his eyes on the heavens, which were covered with stars, he repeated two verses, one of which, Volumnius tells us, was this:

Forgive not, Jove, the cause of this distress *.

The other, he says, had escaped his memory. Upon enumerating the several friends that had fallen before his eyes in the battle, he sighed deeply at the mention of Flavius and Labeo; the latter of whom was his lieutenant, and the former master of the band of artificers. In the mean while one of his attendants being thirsty, and observing Brutus in the same condition, took his helmet, and went to the brook for water. At the same time a noise was heard on the opposite bank, and Volumnius and Dardanus the armour-bearer went to see what it was. In a short time they returned, and asked for the water; "It is all drank up," said Brutus, with a smile; "but "another helmet-full shall be fetched." The man who had brought the first water was, therefore, sent again; but he was wounded by the enemy, and made his escape with difficulty.

As Brutus supposed that he had not lost many men in the battle, Statilius undertook to make his way through the enemy (for there was no other way) and see in what condition their camp was. If things were safe there, he was to hold up a torch for a signal, and return. He got safe to the camp; for the torch was held up. But a long time elapsed, and he did not return. "If Statilius were "alive,"

* Euripides, *Medea*.

"alive," ſaid Brutus, "he would be here." In his return, he fell into the enemy's hands and was ſlain.

The night was now far ſpent; when Brutus, leaning his head towards his ſervant Clitus, whiſpered ſomething in his ear. Clitus made no anſwer, but burſt into tears. After that he took his armour-bearer Dardanus aſide, and ſaid ſomething to him in private. At laſt addreſſing himſelf to Volumnius in Greek, he intreated him, in memory of their common ſtudies and exerciſes, to put his hand to his ſword, and help him to give the thruſt. Volumnius, as well as ſeveral others, refuſed: and one of them obſerving that they muſt neceſſarily fly; "We muſt fly, in- "deed," ſaid Brutus, riſing haſtily, "but not with our feet, "but with our hands." He then took each of them by the hand, and ſpoke with great appearance of cheerfulneſs, to the following purpoſe. "It is an infinite ſatis- "faction to me, that all my friends have been faithful. "If I am angry with Fortune, it is for the ſake of my "country. Myſelf I eſteem more happy than the con- "querors; not only in reſpect of the paſt, but in my pre- "ſent ſituation. I ſhall leave behind me that reputation "for virtue, which they, with all their wealth and power, "will never acquire. For poſterity will not ſcruple to be- "lieve and declare, that they were an abandoned ſet of "men, who deſtroyed the virtuous, for the ſake of that "empire to which they had no right." After this he intreated them ſeverally to provide for their own ſafety; and withdrew with only two or three of his moſt intimate friends. One of theſe was Strato, with whom he firſt became acquainted, when they ſtudied rhetoric. This friend he placed next to himſelf, and laying hold of the hilt of his ſword with both his hands, he fell upon the point, and died. Some ſay that Strato, at the earneſt requeſt of Brutus, turned aſide his head, and held the ſword; upon which he threw himſelf with ſuch violence, that, entering at his breaſt, it paſſed quite through his body, and he immediately expired.

Meſſala, the friend of Brutus, after he was reconciled to Cæſar, took occaſion to recommend Strato to his favour. "This," ſaid he, with tears, "is the man who did "the laſt kind office for my dear Brutus." Cæſar received him with kindneſs; and he was one of thoſe brave Greeks who afterwards attended him at the battle of Actium. Of Meſſala, it is ſaid, that when Cæſar obſerved

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he had been no leſs zealous in his ſervice at Actium than he had been againſt him at Philippi, he anſwered, "I "have always taken the beſt and juſteſt ſide." When Antony found the body of Brutus, he ordered it to be covered with the richeſt robe he had; and that being ſtolen, he put the thief to death. The aſhes of Brutus he ſent to his mother Servilia.

With regard to Porcia, his wife, Nicolaus the philoſopher, and Valerius Maximus *, tell us, that being prevented from that death ſhe wiſhed for, by the conſtant vigilance of her friends, ſhe ſnatched ſome burning coals from the fire, and ſhut them cloſe in her mouth, till ſhe was ſuffocated. Notwithſtanding, there is a letter from Brutus to his friends ſtill extant, in which he laments the death of Porcia; and complains that their neglect of her muſt have made her prefer death to the continuance of her illneſs. So that Nicolaus appears to have been miſtaken in the time, at leaſt, if this epiſtle be authentic; for it deſcribes Porcia's diſtemper, her conjugal affection, and the manner of her death.

## DION AND BRUTUS

### COMPARED.

WHAT is principally to be admired in the lives of Dion and Brutus, is their riſing to ſuch importance from inconſiderable beginnings. But here Dion has the advantage; for, in the progreſs of glory, he had no coadjutor: whereas Caſſius went hand in hand with Brutus; and though, in the reputation of virtue and honour, he was by no means his equal, in military experience, reſolution and activity, he was not inferior. Some have imputed to him the origin of the whole enterprize, and have aſſerted, that Brutus would never, otherwiſe, have engaged

* Valerius Maximus ſpeaks of her fortitude on this occaſion, in the higheſt terms. *Tuos quoque caſtiſſimos Ignes. Portia,* M. Catonis *filia cuncta ſecula debita admiratione proſequentur: Quæ cum apud* Philippos *victum et interemptum virum tuum Brutum cognoſcere, quia ferrum non dabatur, ardentes ore Carbones, haurire non dubitaſti. muliebri ſpiritu virilem patris exitum imitata. Sed neſcio an hoc fortius, quod ille uſitato, tu novo genere mortis abſumpta es!*

Val. Max. l. iv. c. 6.

engaged in it. But Dion, at the ſame time that he made the whole military preparations himſelf, engaged the friends and aſſociates of his deſign. He did not, like Brutus, gain power and riches from the war: he employed that wealth on which he was to ſubſiſt as an exile in a foreign country, in reſtoring the liberties of his own. When Brutus and Caſſius fled from Rome, and found no aſylum from the purſuit of their enemies, their only reſource was war; and they took up arms as much in their own defence, as in that of the common liberty. Dion, on the contrary, was happier in his baniſhment, than the tyrant that baniſhed him; and yet he voluntarily expoſed himſelf to danger for the freedom of Sicily. Beſides, to deliver the Romans from Cæſar, and the Syracuſans from Dionyſius, were enterprizes of a very different kind. Dionyſius was an avowed and eſtabliſhed tyrant; and Sicily, with reaſon, groaned beneath his yoke. But with reſpect to Cæſar, though, whilſt his imperial power was in its infancy, he treated his opponents with ſeverity; yet, as ſoon as that power was confirmed, the tyranny was rather a nominal than real thing; for no tyrannical action could be laid to his charge. Nay, ſuch was the condition of Rome, that it evidently required a maſter; and Cæſar was no more than a tender and ſkilful phyſician, appointed by Providence to heal the diſtempers of the ſtate. Of courſe the people lamented his death, and were implacably enraged againſt his aſſaſſins. Dion, on the contrary, was reproached by the Syracuſans for ſuffering Dionyſius to eſcape, and not digging up the former tyrant's grave.

With regard to their military conduct, Dion, as a general, was without a fault: he not only made the moſt of his own inſtructions, but, where others failed, he happily repaired the error. But it was wrong in Brutus to hazard a ſecond battle, where all was at ſtake *. And when that battle was loſt, he had neither ſagacity enough to think of new reſources, nor ſpirit, like Pompey, to contend with fortune, though he had ſtill reaſon to rely on his troops, and was abſolute maſter at ſea.

But what Brutus is chiefly blamed for, was his ingratitude to Cæſar. He owed his life to his favour, as well as

* This cenſure ſeems very unjuſt. The wavering diſpoſition of Caſſius's troops obliged him to come to a ſecond engagement.

as the lives of thofe prifoners for whom he interceded. He was treated as his friend, and diftinguifhed with particular marks of honour; and yet he embrued his hands in the blood of his benefactor. Dion ftands clear of any charge like this. As a relation of Dionyfius, he affifted and was ufeful to him in the adminiftration; in which cafe his fervices were equal to his honours. When he was driven into exile, and deprived of his wife and his fortune, he had every motive that was juft and honourable to take up arms againft him.

Yet if this circumftance is confidered in another light, Brutus will have the advantage. The greateft glory of both confifts in their abhorrence of tyrants, and their criminal meafures. This, in Brutus, was not blended with any other motive. He had no quarrel with Cæfar; but expofed his life for the liberty of his country. Had not Dion been injured, he had not fought. This is clear from Plato's epiftles; where it appears, that he was banifhed from the court of Dionyfius, and in confequence of that banifhment made war upon him. For the good of the community, Brutus, though an enemy to Pompey, became his friend; and though a friend to Cæfar, he became his enemy. His enmity and his friendfhip arofe from the fame principle, which was juftice. But Dion, whilft in favour, employed his fervices for Dionyfius; and it was not till he was difgraced that he armed againft him. Of courfe, his friends were not quite fatisfied with his enterprize. They were apprehenfive that when he had deftroyed the tyrant, he might feize the government himfelf, and amufe the people with fome fofter title than that of tyranny. On the other hand, the very enemies of Brutus acknowledge that he was the only confpirator, who had no other view than that of reftoring the ancient form of government.

Befides, the enterprize againft Dionyfius cannot be placed in competition with that againft Cæfar. The former had rendered himfelf contemptible by his low manners, his drunkennefs, and debauchery.—But to meditate the fall of Cæfar, and not tremble at his dignity, his fortune, or his power,—nor fhrink at that name, which fhook the kings of India and Parthia on their thrones, and difturbed their flumbers;—this fhewed a fuperiority of foul, on which fear could have no influence. Dion was no fooner feen in Sicily than he was joined by thoufands:

thousands; but the authority of Cæsar was so formidable in Rome, that it supported his friends even after he was dead. And a simple boy rose to the first eminence of power by adopting his name; which served as a charm against the envy and the influence of Antony. Should it be objected that Dion had the sharpest conflicts in expelling the tyrant, but that Cæsar fell naked and unguarded beneath the sword of Brutus, it will argue at least a consummate management and prudence to be able to come at a man of his power naked and unguarded. Particularly, when it is considered that the blow was not sudden, nor the work of one, or of a few men, but meditated, and communicated to many associates, of whom not one deceived the leader: for either he had the power of distinguishing honest men at the first view, or such as he chose, he made honest by the confidence he reposed in them. But Dion confided in men of bad principles; so that he must either have been injudicious in his choice; or, if his people grew worse after their appointments, unskilful in his management. Neither of these can be consistent with the talents and conduct of a wise man; and Plato, accordingly, blames him in his letters, for making choice of such friends as, in the end, were his ruin.

Dion found no friend to revenge his death; but Brutus received an honourable interment, even from his enemy, Antony: and Cæsar allowed of that public respect which was paid to his memory, as will appear from the following circumstance. A statue of brass had been erected to him at Milan, in Gallia Cisalpina, which was a fine performance, and a striking likeness. Cæsar, as he passed through the town, took notice of it, and summoning the magistrates, in the presence of his attendants, he told them, that they had broken the league, by harbouring one of his enemies. The magistrates, as may well be supposed, denied it; and stared at each other, profoundly ignorant what enemy he could mean. He then turned towards the statue, and, knitting his brows, said, "Is not "this my enemy that stands here?" The poor Milanese were struck dumb with astonishment; but Cæsar told them, with a smile, that he was pleased to find them faithful to their friends in adversity, and ordered that the statue should continue where it was.

# ARTAXERXES.

THE first Artaxerxes, who of all the Persian kings was most distinguished for his moderation and greatness of mind, was surnamed *Longimanus*, because his right hand was longer than his left. He was the son of Xerxes. The second Artaxerxes, surnamed *Mnemon* *, whose life we are going to write, was son to the daughter of the first. For Darius, by his wife Parysatis, had four sons; Artaxerxes the eldest, Cyrus the second, and Ostanes and Oxathres the two younger. Cyrus was called after the ancient king of that name, as he is said to have been after the sun; for the Persians call the sun *Cyrus*. Artaxerxes at first was named Arsicas †, though Dinon asserts that his original name was Oartes ‡. But though Ctesias has filled his books with a number of incredible and extravagant fables, it is not probable that he should be ignorant of the name of a king at whose court he lived, in quality of physician to him, his wife, his mother, and his childen.

Cyrus from his infancy was of a violent and impetuous temper; but Artaxerxes had a native mildness, something gentle and moderate in his whole disposition. The latter married a beautiful and virtuous lady, by order of his parents, and he kept her when they wanted him to put her away. For the king having put her brother to death ||, designed that she should share his fate. But Arsicas

* So called on account of his extraordinary memory.

† Or *Arsaces*.

‡ Or Oarses.

|| Teriteuchmes, the brother of Statira, had been guilty of the complicated crimes of adultery, incest, and murder; which raised great disturbances in the royal family, and ended in the ruin of all who were concerned in them. Statira was daughter to Hydarnes, governor of one of the chief provinces of the empire. Artaxerxes, then called Arsaces, was charmed with her beauty, and married her. At the same time Teriteuchmes, her brother, married Hamestris, one of the daughters of Darius, and sister to Arsaces; by reason of which marriage he had interest enough, on his father's demise, to get himself appointed to his government. But in the mean time he conceived a passion for his own sister Roxana, no ways inferior in beauty to Statira; and, that he might enjoy her without constraint, resolved to despatch his wife Hamestris,

Arsicas applied to his mother, with many tears and intreaties, and, with much difficulty, prevailed upon her, not only to spare her life, but to excuse him from divorcing her. Yet his mother had the greater affection for Cyrus, and was desirous of raising him to the throne: therefore, when he was called from his residence on the coast in the sickness of Darius, he returned full of hopes, that the queen's interest had established him successor. Parysatis had, indeed, a specious pretence, which the ancient Xerxes had made use of, at the suggestion of Demaratus, that she had brought Darius his son Arsicas when he was in a private station, but Cyrus when he was a king. However, she could not prevail. Darius appointed his eldest son his successor; on which occasion his name was changed to Artaxerxes. Cyrus had the government of Lydia, and was to be commander in chief on the coast.

Soon after the death of Darius, the king, his successor, went to Pasargadæ, in order to be consecrated, according to custom, by the priests of Persia. In that city there is the temple of a goddess, who has the affairs of war under her patronage, and, therefore, may be supposed to be Minerva. The prince to be consecrated must enter that temple, put off his own robe there, and take that which was worn by the Great Cyrus before he was king. He must eat a cake of figs, chew some turpentine, and drink a cup of acidulated milk. Whether there are any other ceremonies, is unknown, except to the persons concerned. As Artaxerxes was on the point of going to be consecrated, Tissaphernes brought to him a priest, who had been chief inspector of Cyrus's education in his infancy, and had instructed him in the learning of the *Magi*;



mestris, and light up the flames of rebellion in the kingdom. Darius being apprized of his design, engaged Udiastes, an intimate friend of Teriteuchmes, to kill him, and was rewarded by the king with the government of his province. Upon this some commotions were raised by the son of Teriteuchmes; but, the king's forces having the superiority, all the family of Hydarnes were apprehended, and delivered to Parysatis, that she might execute her revenge upon them for the injury done, or intended, to her daughter. That cruel princess put them all to death, except Statira, whom she spared, at the earnest intreaties of her husband Arsaces, contrary to the opinion of Darius. But Arsaces was no sooner settled upon the throne, than Statira prevailed upon him to leave Udiastes to her correction; and she put him to a death too cruel to be described. Parisates, in return, poisoned the son of Teriteuchmes; and, not long after, Statira herself. CTES. in Perf.

*Magi*; and therefore might be ſuppoſed to be as much concerned as any man in Perſia, at his pupil's not being appointed king. For that reaſon his accuſation againſt Cyrus could not but gain credit. He accuſed him of a deſign to lie in wait for the king in the temple, and, after he had put off his garment, to fall upon him and deſtroy him. Some affirm, that Cyrus was immediately ſeized upon this information; others, that he got into the temple, and concealed himſelf there, but was pointed out by the prieſt: in conſequence of which he was to be put to death; but his mother, at that moment, took him in her arms, bound the treſſes of her hair about him, held his neck to her own, and by her tears and intreaties prevailed to have him pardoned, and remanded to the ſea-coaſt. Neverthelefs, he was far from being ſatisfied with his government. Inſtead of thinking of his brother's favour with gratitude, he remembered only the indignity of chains; and, in his reſentment, aſpired more than ever after the ſovereignty.

Some, indeed, ſay, that he thought his allowance for his table inſufficient, and therefore revolted from his king. But this is a fooliſh pretext. For if he had no other reſource, his mother would have ſupplied him with whatever he wanted, out of her revenues. Beſides, there needs no greater proof of his riches than the number of foreign troops that he entertained in his ſervice, which were kept for him in various parts by his friends and retainers. For, the better to conceal his preparations, he did not keep his forces in a body, but had his emiſſaries in different places, who enliſted foreigners on various pretences. Mean while his mother, who lived at court, made it her buſineſs to remove the king's ſuſpicions: and Cyrus himſelf always wrote in a lenient ſtyle; ſometimes begging a candid interpretation, and ſometimes recriminating upon Tiſſaphernes, as if his contention had been ſolely with that grandee. Add to this, that the king had a dilatory turn of mind, which was natural to him, and which many took for moderation. At firſt, indeed, he ſeemed entirely to imitate the mildneſs of the firſt Artaxerxes, whoſe name he bore, by behaving with great affability to all that addreſſed him, and diſtributing honours and rewards to perſons of merit with a laviſh hand. He took care that puniſhments ſhould never be embittered with inſult. If he received preſents, he appeared as well pleaſed

pleaſed as thoſe who offered them, or rather as thoſe who received favours from him; and in conferring favours, he always kept a countenance of benignity and pleaſure. There was not any thing, however trifling, brought him by way of preſent, which he did not receive kindly. Even when one, Omiſus brought him a pomegranate of uncommon ſize, he ſaid, "By the light of Mithra, this man, "if he were made governor of a ſmall city, would ſoon "make it a great one." When he was once upon a journey, and people preſented him with a variety of things by the way, a labouring man, having nothing elſe to give him, ran to the river, and brought him ſome water in his hands. Artaxerxes was ſo much pleaſed, that he ſent the man a gold cup, and a thouſand *darics*. When Euclidas, the Lacedæmonian, ſaid many inſolent things to him, he contented himſelf with ordering the captain of his guard to give him this anſwer, "You may ſay "what you pleaſe to the king; but the king would have "you to know, that he can not only ſay, but do." One day, as he was hunting, Tiribazus ſhewed him a rent in his robe; upon which the king ſaid, "What ſhall I do "with it?" "Put on another, and give that to me," ſaid Tiribazus. "It ſhall be ſo," ſaid the king; "I give "it thee; but I charge thee not to wear it." Tiribazus, who, though not a bad man, was giddy and vain, diſregarding the reſtriction, ſoon put on the robe, and at the ſame time tricked himſelf out with ſome golden ornaments, fit only for queens. The court expreſſed great indignation; becauſe it was a thing contrary to their laws and cuſtoms: but the king only laughed, and ſaid to him, "I allow thee to wear the trinkets as a woman; and the "robe as a madman."

None had been admitted to the king of Perſia's table but his mother and his wife; the former of which ſat above him, and the latter below him: Artaxerxes, nevertheleſs, did that honour to Oſtanes and Oxathres, two of his younger brothers. But what afforded the Perſians the moſt pleaſing ſpectacle, was the queen Statira always riding in her chariot with the curtains open, and admitting the women of the country to approach and ſalute her. Theſe things made his adminiſtration popular. Yet there were ſome turbulent and factious men, who repreſented that the affairs of Perſia required a king of ſuch a magnificent ſpirit, ſo able a warrior, and ſo

generous a master as Cyrus was; and that the dignity of so great an empire could not be supported without a prince of high thoughts and noble ambition. It was not, therefore, without a confidence in some of the Persians, as well as in the maritime provinces, that Cyrus undertook the war.

He wrote also to the Lacedæmonians for assistance; promising that to the foot he would give horses, and to the horsemen chariots: that on those who had farms he would bestow villages, and on those who had villages, cities. As for their pay, he assured them it should not be counted, but measured out to them. At the same time he spoke in very high terms of himself, telling them he had a greater and more princely heart than his brother; that he was the better philosopher, being instructed in the doctrines of the Magi, and that he could drink and bear more wine than his brother. Artaxerxes, he said, was so timorous and effeminate a man, that he could not sit a horse in hunting, nor a chariot in time of war. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, sent the *Scytale* to Clearchus, with orders to serve Cyrus in every thing he demanded *.

Cyrus began his march against the king, with a numerous army of barbarians †, and almost thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries ‡. He found one pretence after another for having such an armament on foot; but his real designs did not remain long undiscovered. For Tissaphernes went in person to inform the king of them.

This news put the court in great disorder. Parysatis was censured as the principal cause of this war, and her friends were suspected of a private intelligence with Cyrus. Statira, in her distress about the war, gave Parysatis

* They took care not to mention Artaxerxes, pretending not to be privy to the designs that were carrying on against him. This precaution they used, that in case Artaxerxes should get the better of his brother, they might justify themselves to him in what they had done.

XENOPH. de Expedit. Cyri. l. i.

† A hundred thousand barbarians.

‡ Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian, commanded all the Peloponnesian troops, except the Achæans, who were led by Socrates of Achaia. The Bœotions were under Proxenes, a Theban; and the Thessalians under Menon. The other nations were commanded by Persian generals, of whom Ariacus was the chief. The fleet consisted of thirty-five ships, under Pythagoras, a Lacedæmonian; and twenty-five commanded by Tamos, an Egyptian, who was admiral of the whole fleet. On this occasion, Proxenes presented Xenophon to Cyrus, who gave him a commission amongst the Greek mercenaries.

rysatis the most trouble. "Where is now," she cried, "that faith which you pledged? Where your intercessions, by which you saved the man that was conspiring against his brother? Have they not brought war and all its calamities upon us?" These expostulations fixed in the heart of Parysatis, who was naturally vindictive and barbarous in her resentment and revenge, such a hatred of Statira, that she contrived to take her off. Dinon writes, that this cruel purpose was put in execution during the war: but Ctesias assures us, it was after it. And it is not probable, that he, who was an eye-witness to the transactions of that court, could either be ignorant of the time when the assassination took place, or could have any reason to misrepresent the date of it; though he often deviates into fictitious tales, and loves to give us invention instead of truth. We shall, therefore, leave this story to the order of time in which he has placed it.

While Cyrus was upon his march, he had accounts brought him, that the king did not design to try the fortune of the field by giving battle immediately, but to wait in Persia till his forces were assembled there from all parts of his kingdom. And though he had drawn a trench across the plain ten fathom wide, as many deep *, and four hundred furlongs in length, yet he suffered Cyrus to pass him, and to march almost to Babylon †. Tiribazus, we are told, was the first who ventured to remonstrate to the king, that he ought not any longer to avoid an action, nor to abandon Media, Babylon, and even Susa to the enemy, and hide himself in Persia; since he had an army infinitely greater than theirs, and ten thousand *Satrapæ* and other officers, all of them superior to those of Cyrus both in courage and conduct.

Upon this, he took a resolution to come to action as soon as possible. His sudden appearance with an army of nine hundred thousand men, well prepared and accoutred, extremely surprized the rebels, who, through the confidence they had in themselves, and contempt of



* Xenophon says, this trench was only five fathom wide, and three deep. It must be observed that the word *ὀργυιά* sometimes signifies a *pace* only; and if it be understood so here, it will bring Plutarch's account more within the bounds of probability.

† There was a passage twenty feet wide left between the trench and the Euphrates, and Artaxerxes neglected to defend it.

their enemy, were marching in great confufion, and even without their arms. So that it was with great difficulty that Cyrus reduced them to any order; and he could not do it at laft without much noife and tumult. As the king advanced in filence, and at a flow pace, the good difcipline of his troops afforded an aftonifhing fpectacle to the Greeks, who expected amongft fuch a multitude nothing but diforderly fhouts and motions, and every other inftance of diftraction and confufion. He fhewed his judgment, too, in placing the ftrongeft of his armed chariots before that part of his phalanx which was oppofite to the Greeks, that by the impetuofity of their motion they might break the enemy's ranks before they came to clofe combat.

Many hiftorians have defcribed this battle; but Xenophon has done it with fuch life and energy, that we do not read an account of it; we fee it; and feel all the danger. It would be very abfurd, therefore, to attempt any thing after him, except the mentioning fome material circumftances which he has omitted.

The place where the battle was fought is called Cunaxa, and is five hundred furlongs from Babylon. A little before the action, Clearchus advifed Cyrus to poft himfelf behind the Macedonians *, and not rifk his perfon; upon which he is reported to have faid, "What "advice it this, Clearchus? Would you have me, at the "very time I am aiming at a crown, to fhew myfelf un-"worthy of one." Cyrus, indeed, committed an error in rufhing into the midft of the greateft danger without care or caution: but Clearchus was guilty of another as great, if not greater, in not confenting to place his Greeks oppofite to the king, and in getting the river on his right, to prevent his being furrounded. For, if fafety was his principal object, and he was by all means to avoid lofs, he ought to have ftayed at home. But to carry his arms ten thoufand furlongs from the fea, without neceffity or conftraint, and folely with a view to place Cyrus on the throne of Perfia, and then not to be folicitous for a poft where he might beft defend the prince whofe pay he received, but for one in which he might act moft at eafe and in the greateft fafety, was to behave like a man, who, on

* This is undoubtedly the error of fome tranfcriber; and for *Macedonians* we fhould read Lacedæmonians.

on the ſight of preſent danger, abandons the whole enterprize, and forgets the purpoſe of his expedition. For it appears from the courſe of the action, that if the Greeks had charged thoſe that were poſted about the king's perſon, they would not have ſtood the ſhock; and after Artaxerxes had been ſlain, or put to flight, the conqueror muſt have gained the crown without further interruption. Therefore, the ruins of Cyrus's affairs and his death is much rather to be aſcribed to the caution of Clearchus, than to his own raſhneſs. For, if the king himſelf had been to chooſe a poſt for the Greeks, where they might do him the leaſt prejudice, he could not have pitched upon a better than that which was moſt remote from himſelf, and the troops about him. At the diſtance he was from Clearchus, he knew not of the defeat of that part of his army which was near the river, and Cyrus was cut off before he could avail himſelf of the advantages gained by the Greeks. Cyrus, indeed, was ſenſible what diſpoſition would have been of moſt ſervice to him, and for that reaſon ordered Clearchus to charge in the centre; but Clearchus ruined all, notwithſtanding his aſſurances of doing every thing for the beſt. For the Greeks beat the barbarians with eaſe, and purſued them a conſiderable way.

In the mean time, Cyrus being mounted on *Paſacas*, a horſe of great ſpirit, but at the ſame time head-ſtrong and unruly, fell in, as Cteſias tells us, with Artagerſes, general of the Caduſians, who met him upon the gallop, and called out to him in theſe terms; "Moſt unjuſt and moſt "ſtupid of men, who diſgraceſt the name of Cyrus, the "moſt auguſt of all names among the Perſians: thou "leadeſt theſe brave * Greeks a vile way to plunder thy "country, and to deſtroy thy brother and thy king, who "has many millions of ſervants that are better men than "thou. Try if he has not, and here thou ſhalt loſe thy "head, before thou canſt ſee the face of the king." So ſaying, he threw his javelin at him with all his force; but his cuiraſs was of ſuch excellent temper, that he was not wounded, though the violence of the blow ſhook him in his ſeat. Then, as Artagerſes was turning his horſe, Cyrus

* Probably καλες has been a miſtake of the tranſcribers for κακες. Then it will be κακες μεν Ἑλληνας ερχη κακην ὁδον αγων. *Thou leadeſt the vile Greeks a vile way, &c.*

Cyrus aimed a ſtroke at him with his ſpear, and the point of it entered at his collar-bone, and pierced through his neck. That Artagerſes fell by the hand of Cyrus, almoſt all hiſtorians agree. As to the death of Cyrus himſelf, ſince Xenophon has given a very ſhort account of it, becauſe he was not on the ſpot when it happened, perhaps it may not be amiſs to give the manner of it in detail, as Dinon and Cteſias have repreſented it.

Dinon tells us, that Cyrus, after he had ſlain Artagerſes, charged the vanguard of Ataxerxes with great fury, wounded the king's horſe, and diſmounted him. Tiribazus immediately mounted him on another horſe, and ſaid, "Sir, remember this day; for it deſerves not "to be forgotten." At the ſecond attack, Cyrus ſpurred his horſe againſt the king, and gave him a wound*: at the third, Artaxerxes, in great indignation, ſaid to thoſe that were by, "It is better to die than to ſuffer all "this." At the ſame time he advanced againſt Cyrus, who was raſhly advancing to meet a ſhower of darts. The king wounded him with his javelin, and others did the ſame. Thus fell Cyrus, as ſome ſay, by the blow which the king gave him; but according to others, it was a Carian ſoldier who deſpatched him, and who afterwards, for his exploit, had the honour of carrying a golden cock at the head of the army, on the point of his ſpear. For the Perſians called the Carian cocks, on account of the creſts with which they adorned their helmets.

Cteſias's ſtory is very long, but the purport of it is this. When Cyrus had ſlain Artagerſes, he puſhed his horſe up towards the king, and the king advanced againſt him; both in ſilence. Ariacus, one of the friends of Cyrus, firſt aimed a blow at the king, but did not wound him. Then the king threw his javelin at Cyrus, but miſſed him; the weapon, however, did execution upon Tiſaphernes†, a man of approved valour, and a faithful ſervant to Cyrus. It was now Cyrus's turn to try his javelin; it pierced the king's cuiraſs, and going two fingers

* Or, *with the violence of the encounter, beat the king from his horſe.* In the original it is ενσεισας τω ἱππω κατεϐαλε τον Αρταξερξην.

† *Tiſaphernes* is probably an erroneous reading. We know of no Tiſaphernes but the grandee of that name, who was a faithful ſervant to Artaxerxes. One of the manuſcripts gives us *Satiphernes*.

gers deep into his breaſt, brought him from his horſe. This cauſed ſuch diſorder in his troops, that they fled. But the king recovering, retired with a few of his men, among whom was Cteſias, to an eminence not far off, and there repoſed himſelf. In the mean time, Cyrus's horſe, grown more furious by the action, carried him deep amongſt the enemy; and as night was coming on, they did not know him, and his own men ſought for him in vain. Elated, however, with victory, and naturally daring and impetuous, he kept on, crying out in the Perſian language as he went, "Make way, ye ſlaves, make way:" They humbled themſelves, and opened their ranks; but his tiara happened to fall from his head; and a young Perſian, named Mithridates, in paſſing, wounded him with his lance in the temple near his eye, without knowing who he was. Such a quantity of blood iſſued from the wound, that he was ſeized with a giddineſs, and fell ſenſeleſs from his horſe. The horſe, having loſt his rider, wandered about the field; the furniture, too, was fallen off, and the ſervant of Mithridates, who had given him the wound, took it up, all ſtained with blood.

At laſt Cyrus, with much difficulty, began to recover from his ſwoon; and a few eunuchs, who attended him, endeavoured to mount him on another horſe, and ſo to carry him out of danger. But as he was too weak to ſit a horſe, he thought it better to walk, and the eunuchs ſupported him as he went. His head was ſtill heavy, and he tottered at every ſtep; yet he imagined himſelf victorious, becauſe he heard the fugitives calling Cyrus king, and imploring mercy.

At that inſtant, ſome Caunians of mean condition, who performed the moſt ſervile offices for the royal army, happened to mix with the company of Cyrus as friends. They perceived, however, though not without difficulty, that the clothing of his people was red, whereas that given by the king their maſter was white. One of theſe then ventured to give Cyrus a ſtroke with his ſpear behind, without knowing him to be the prince. The weapon hit his ham, and cut the ſinew; upon which he fell, and in falling daſhed his wounded temple againſt a ſtone, and died upon the ſpot. Such is Cteſias's ſtory of the death of Cyrus, which like a blunt weapon, hacks and hews him a long time, and can hardly kill him at laſt.

Soon

Soon after Cyrus expired, an officer, who was called *the King's Eye*, paſſed that way. Artaſyras (for that was his name) knowing the eunuchs, who were mourning over the corpſe, addreſſed him who appeared to be moſt faithful to his maſter, and ſaid, "Pariſcas, who is that whom thou "art lamenting ſo much?" "O Artaſyras!" anſwered the eunuch, "ſee you not prince Cyrus dead?" Artaſyrus was aſtoniſhed at the event: however, he deſired the eunuch to compoſe himſelf, and take care of the corpſe; and then rode at full ſpeed to Artaxerxes, who had given up all for loſt, and was ready to faint, both with thirſt and with the anguiſh of his wound. In theſe circumſtances the officer found him, and with a joyful accent hailed him in theſe words, "I have ſeen Cyrus dead." The king, at firſt, was impatient to ſee the dead body himſelf, and commanded Artaſyras immediately to conduct him to it. But finding all the field full of terror and diſmay, upon a report, that the Greeks, victorious in their quarter, were purſuing the fugitives, and putting all to the ſword, he thought proper to ſend out a greater number to reconnoitre the place, which Artaſyras had told him of. Accordingly thirty men went with flambeaux in their hands. Still the king was almoſt dying with thirſt, and the eunuch Satibarzanes ſought every place for water; for the field afforded none, and they were at a great diſtance from the camp. After much ſearch, he found one of thoſe poor Caunians had about two quarts of bad water in a mean bottle, and he took it and carried it to the king. After the king had drank it all up, the eunuch aſked him, "If he did not find "it a diſagreeable beverage?" Upon which he ſwore by all the gods, "That he had never drank the moſt delicious "wine, nor the lighteſt and cleareſt water, with ſo much "pleaſure. I wiſh only," continued he, "that I could find "the man who gave it thee, that I might make him a "recompenſe. In the mean time, I intreat the gods to "make him happy and rich."

While he was ſpeaking, the thirty men, whom he had ſent out, returned, in great exultation, and confirmed the news of his unexpected good fortune. Now, likewiſe, numbers of his troops repaired to him again, and diſmiſſing his fears, he deſcended from the eminence, with many torches carried before him. When he came to the dead body, according to the law of the Perſians, the right hand

hand and the head were cut off; and having ordered the head to be brought to him, he took it by the hair, which was long and thick, and ſhewing it to the fugitives, and to ſuch as were ſtill doubtful of the fortune of the day. They were aſtoniſhed at the ſight, and proſtrated themſelves before him. Seventy thouſand men ſoon aſſembled about him, and with them he returned to his camp. Cteſias tells us, he had led four hundred thouſand men that day into the field; but Dinon and Xenophon make that number much greater. As to the number of the killed, Cteſias ſays, an account only of nine thouſand was brought to Artaxerxes; whereas there appeared to Cteſias himſelf to be no fewer than twenty thouſand. That article, therefore, muſt be left dubious. But nothing can be a more palpable falſity than what Cteſias adds, that he was ſent ambaſſador to the Greeks in conjunction with Phayllus, the Zacynthian, and ſome others. For Xenophon knew that Cteſias was at the Perſian court; he mentions him in his works, and it is plain that he had met with his books. Therefore, if he had been joined in commiſſion to ſettle ſuch important affairs, he would not have paſſed him by unnoticed, but would have mentioned him with Phayllus. Cteſias, indeed, was a man of unbounded vanity, as well as ſtrong attachment to Clearchus; and for that reaſon always leaves a corner in the ſtory for himſelf, when he is dreſſing out the praiſes of Clearchus and the Lacedæmonians.

After the battle, the king ſent great and valuable preſents to the ſon of Artagerſes, who was ſlain by Cyrus. He rewarded alſo Cteſias, and others, in a diſtinguiſhed manner; and having found the Caunian, who gave him the bottle of water, he raiſed him, from indigence and obſcurity, to riches and honours. There was ſomething of an analogy between his puniſhments and the crime. One Arbaces, a Mede, in the battle deſerted to Cyrus, and, after that prince was killed, came back to his colours. As he perceived that the man had done it rather out of cowardice than any treaſonable deſign, all the penalty he laid upon him, was to carry about a naked courtezan upon his ſhoulders a whole day in the market-place. Another, beſide deſerting, had given it out, that he had killed two of the enemy; and for his puniſhment, he only ordered his tongue to be pierced through with three needles.

He

He ſuppoſed, and he was deſirous of having it paſs upon the world, that Cyrus fell by his hand. This induced him to ſend valuable preſents to Mithridates, who gave him the firſt wound, and to inſtruct the meſſengers to ſay, "The "king does you this honour, becauſe you found the fur-"niture of Cyrus's horſe, and brought it to him." And when the Carian, who gave Cyrus the ſtroke in his ham, that cauſed his death, aſked for his reward, he ordered thoſe who gave it him to ſay, "The king beſtows this "upon you, becauſe you were the ſecond perſon that "brought him good tidings. For Artaſyras was the firſt, "and you the next that brought him an account of the "death of Cyrus." Mithridates went away in ſilence, though not without concern. But the unhappy Carian could not conquer the common diſeaſe of vanity. Elated with what he thought his good fortune, and aſpiring to things above his walk in life, he would not receive his reward for tidings, but angrily inſiſted, and called the gods and men to witneſs, that he, and no other man, killed Cyrus: and that it was not juſt to rob him of the glory.

The king was ſo much incenſed at this, that he ordered the man's head to be cut off. But his mother Paryſatis being preſent ſaid, "Let not this villainous Carian go off "ſo: leave him to me, and he ſhall have the reward which "his audacious tongue deſerves." Accordingly the king gave him up to her, and ſhe delivered him to the executioners, with orders to torture him for ten days, and then to tear out his eyes, and pour molten braſs into his ears, till he expired.

Mithridates alſo came to a miſerable end ſoon after, through his own folly. Being invited one evening to ſupper, where both the eunuchs of the king, and thoſe of his mother were preſent, he went in a robe embroidered with gold, which he had received from the king. During the entertainment, Paryſatis's principal eunuch took occaſion to ſay, "What a beautiful garment is this, Mithridates, "which the king has given you! How handſome are "thoſe bracelets and that chain! How valuable your "ſcymitar! He has certainly made you not only a great, "but a happy man." Mithridates, who by this time was fluſhed with wine, made anſwer, "What are theſe "things, Sparamixes? I deſerve much greater marks of "honour than theſe for the ſervices I rendered the king

"that

"that day." Then Sparamixes replied, with a ſmile, "I ſpeak not in the leaſt out of envy; but ſince, according to the Greek proverb, there is truth in wine, let me tell you my mind freely, and aſk you what great matter it is to find a horſe's furniture fallen off, and bring it to the king." This he ſaid, not that he was ignorant of the real ſtate of the caſe; but becauſe he wanted to lay him open, and ſaw that the wine had made him talkative, and taken him off his guard, he ſtudied to pique his vanity. Mithridates, no longer maſter of himſelf, ſaid, "You may talk of what furniture and what trifles you pleaſe; but I tell you plainly, it was by this hand that Cyrus was ſlain. For I did not, like Artagerſes, throw my javelin in vain, but pierced his temples near the eye, and brought him to the ground; and of that wound he died." The reſt of the company ſaw the dreadful fate that would befal Mithridates, and looked with dejected eyes upon the ground; but he who gave the entertainment ſaid, "Let us now attend to our eating and drinking; and adoring the fortune of the king, let ſuch matters alone as are too high for us."

Immediately after the company broke up, the eunuch told Paryſatis what had been ſaid, and ſhe informed the king. Artaxerxes, like a perſon detected, and one who had loſt a victory out of his hands, was enraged at this diſcovery. For he was deſirous of making all the barbarians and Greeks believe, that in the ſeveral encounters he both gave and received blows; and that though he was wounded himſelf, he killed his adverſary. He therefore condemned Mithridates to the puniſhment of *the Boat*. The manner of it is this. They take two boats, which are made to fit each other, and extend the criminal in one of them in a ſupine poſture. Then they turn the other upon it, ſo that the poor wretch's body is covered, and only the head and hands are out at one end, and the feet at the other. They give him victuals daily, and if he refuſes to eat, they compel him by pricking him in the eyes. After he has eaten, they make him drink a mixture of honey and milk, which they pour into his mouth. They ſpread the ſame, too, over his face, and always turn him ſo as to have the ſun full in his eyes; the conſequence of which is, that his face is covered with ſwarms of flies. As all the neceſſary evacuations of a

man

man who eats and drinks are within the boat, the filthineſs and corruption engender a quantity of worms, which conſume his fleſh, and penetrate to his entrails. When they find that the man is dead, they take off the upper boat, and have the ſpectacle of a carcaſe whoſe fleſh is eaten away, and of numberleſs vermin clinging to and gnawing the bowels. Mithridates with much difficulty found death, after he had been conſumed in this manner for ſeventeen days.

There remained now no other mark for the vengeance of Paryſatis but Meſabates, one of the king's eunuchs, who cut off Cyrus's head and hand. As he took care to give her no handle againſt him, ſhe laid this ſcheme for his deſtruction. She was a woman of keen parts in all reſpects, and in particular ſhe played well at dice. The king often played with her before the war, and being reconciled to her after it, took the ſame diverſion with her. She was even the confidante of his pleaſures, and ſcrupled not to aſſiſt him in any thing of gallantry.

Statira indeed was the object of her hatred, and ſhe let her have a very ſmall ſhare of the king's company; for ſhe was determined to have the principal intereſt with him herſelf. One day finding Artaxerxes wanted ſomething to paſs away the time, ſhe challenged him to play for a thouſand *darics*, and purpoſely managed her dice ſo ill, that ſhe loſt. She paid the money immediately, but pretended to be much chagrined, and called on him to play again for an eunuch. He conſented to the propoſal, and they agreed each of them to except five of their moſt faithful eunuchs; the winner was to have his choice out of the reſt. On theſe conditions they played. The queen, who had the affair at heart, exerted all her ſkill, and being favoured beſides by the dice, won the eunuch, and pitched upon Meſabates, who was not of the number of the excepted. He was immediately delivered to her, and before the king ſuſpected any thing of her intentions, ſhe put him in the hands of the executioners, with orders to flay him alive, to fix his body on three ſtakes, and to ſtretch out his ſkin by itſelf. The king was highly incenſed, and expreſſed his reſentment in ſtrong terms: but ſhe only ſaid in a laughing ironical way, "This is pleaſant indeed, that you muſt be ſo angry "about an old uſeleſs eunuch, while I ſay not a word of "my loſs of a thouſand *darics*." The king, though much

much concerned at the impoſition, held his peace. But Statira, who on other occaſions openly cenſured the practice of the queen mother, complained now of her injuſtice and cruelty, in ſacrificing to Cyrus the eunuchs, and other faithful ſervants of the king.

After Tiſſaphernes * had deceived Clearchus and the other Grecian officers, and, contrary to the treaty and his oaths, put them in chains, Cteſias tells us, that Clearchus made intereſt with him for the recovery of a comb. When he had obtained it, it ſeems, he was ſo much pleaſed with the uſe of it, that he took his ring from his finger, and gave it Cteſias, that it might appear as a token of his regard for him to his friends and relations in Lacedæmon. The device was a dance of the *Caryatides* †. He adds, that whenever proviſions were ſent to Clearchus, his fellow-priſoners took moſt of them for themſelves, and left him a very ſmall ſhare: but that he corrected this abuſe, by procuring a larger quantity to be ſent to Clearchus, and ſeparating the allowance of the others from his. All this (according to our author) was done with the conſent, and by the favour of Paryſatis. As he ſent every day a gammon of bacon among the proviſions, Clearchus ſuggeſted to him, that he might eaſily conceal a ſmall dagger in the fleſhy part, and begged earneſtly that he would do it, that his fate might not be left to the cruel diſpoſition of Artaxerxes; but, through fear of the king's diſpleaſure, he refuſed it. The king, however, at the requeſt of his mother, promiſed, upon oath, not to put Clearchus to death; but afterwards he was perſuaded, by Statira, to deſtroy all the priſoners, except Menon. On this account he tells us Paryſatis plotted againſt Statira, and reſolved to take her off by poiſon. But it is a great abſurdity in Cteſias to aſſign ſo diſproportionate a cauſe. Would Paryſatis,

* Tiſſaphernes, by promiſes which he did not intend to keep, drew Clearchus to an interview in his tent. He went with four principal officers and twenty captains to wait on the Perſian, who put Clearchus and the four officers under arreſt, and ordered the twenty captains to be cut in pieces. Some time after the king commanded Clearchus, and all the four officers, except Menon, to be beheaded. XENOPH. de Exped. Cyri. l. ii.

† Carya was a town in Laconia, where there was a temple of Diana. Indeed, the whole town was dedicated to Diana and her nymphs. In the court before the temple ſtood a ſtatue of *Diana Caryatis*, and the Spartan virgins kept a yearly feſtival on which they danced round it.

rysatis, for the sake of Clearchus, undertake so horrid and dangerous an enterprize, as that of poisoning the king's lawful wife, by whom he had children and an heir to his crown. It is clear enough that he tells this fabulous tale to do honour to the memory of Clearchus. For he adds, that the carcases of the other officers were torn in pieces by dogs and birds; but that a storm of wind brought a great heap of sand, and provided a tomb for Clearchus. Around this heap there sprang up a number of palm-trees, which soon grew into an admirable grove, and spread their protecting shade over the place; so that the king repented greatly of what he had done, believing that he had destroyed a man, who was a favourite of the gods.

It was, therefore, only from the hatred and jealousy which Parysatis had entertained of Statira from the first, that she embarked in so cruel a design. She saw that her own power with the king depended only on his reverence for her as his mother; whereas that of Statira was founded in love, and confirmed by the greatest confidence in her fidelity. The point she had to carry was great, and she resolved to make one desperate effort. She had a faithful and favourite attendant, named Gigis, who, as Dinon tells us, assisted in the affair of the poison; but, according to Ctesias, she was only conscious to it, and that against her will. The former calls the person, who provided the poison, Melantas; the latter, Belitaras.

These two princesses had, in appearance, forgot their old suspicions and animosities, and began to visit and eat at each other's table. But they did it with so much distrust and caution, as to make it a rule to eat of the same dish, and even of the same slices. There is a small bird in Persia, which has no excrements, the intestines being only filled with fat; on which account it is supposed to live upon air and dew: the name of it is *Rhyntaces*. Ctesias writes, that Parysatis divided one of these birds with a small knife that was poisoned on one side, and taking the wholsomer part herself, gave the other to Statira. Dinon, however, affirms, that it was not Parysatis, but Melantas, who cut the bird in two, and presented the poisoned part to Statira. Be that as it may, she died in dreadful agonies and convulsions; and was not only sensible herself of the cause, but intimated her suspicions to the king, who knew too well the savage and implacable temper of his mother; he, therefore, immediately made an

an inquisition into the affair. He took her officers and servants that attended at her table, and put them to the torture. But she kept Gigis in her own apartment; and when the king demanded her, refused to give her up. At last Gigis begged of the queen-mother to let her go in the night to her own house; and the king being informed of it, ordered some of his guards to intercept her. Accordingly she was seized, and condemned to die. The laws of Persia have provided this punishment for poisoners: their heads are placed on a broad stone, and then crushed with another, till nothing of the figure remains. In that manner was Gigis executed. As for Parysatis, the king did not reproach her with her crime, nor punish her any farther than by sending her to Babylon (which was the place she desired to retire to), and declaring that he would never visit that city while she lived. Such was the state of his domestic affairs.

He was no less solicitous to get the Greeks into his hands who had followed Cyrus into Asia, than he had been to conquer Cyrus himself, and to keep the crown. But he could not succeed *. For though they had lost Cyrus their general, and their own officers, yet they forced their way, as it were, out of the very palace of Artaxerxes, and made it appear to all the world, that the Persians and their king had nothing to value themselves upon but wealth, luxury, women, and that the rest was mere parade and ostentation. This gave fresh spirits to the Greeks, and taught them to despise the barbarians. The Lacedæmonians, in particular, thought it would be a great dishonour, if they did not now deliver the Asiatic Greeks from servitude, and put an end to the insults of the Persians. Their first attempt was under the direction of Thimbro, and the next under that of Dercyllidas; but

* The Greeks were at a vast distance from their own country, in the very heart of the Persian empire, surrounded by a numerous army flushed with victory; and had no way to return again into Greece, but by forcing their retreat through an immense tract of the enemy's country. But their valour and resolution mastered all these difficulties, and, in spite of a powerful army which pursued and harrassed them all the way, they made a retreat of two thousand three hundred and twenty-five miles, through the provinces belonging to the Persians, and got safe to the Greek cities on the Euxine sea. Clearchus had the conduct of this march at first; but he being cut off by the treachery of Tissaphernes, Xenophon was chosen in his room; and to his valour and wisdom it was chiefly owing that at length they got safe into Greece.

but as those generals effected nothing of importance, the conduct of the war was given to Agesilaus. That prince immediately passed into Asia with his fleet, and soon distinguished himself by his vigorous operations: for he defeated Tissaphernes in a pitched battle, and brought over several cities.

By these losses Artaxerxes understood what was his best method of making war. He, therefore, sent Hermocrates, the Rhodian, into Greece, with a great quantity of gold, having instructed him to corrupt with it the leading men amongst the states, and to stir up a Grecian war against Lacedæmon.

Hermocrates acquitted himself so well in his commission, that the most considerable cities leagued against Sparta, and there were such commotions in Peloponnesus, that the magistrates were forced to recal Agesilaus from Asia. On leaving that country he is reported to have said to his friends, "The king drives me out of Asia with thirty "thousand archers." For the Persian money bore the impression of an archer.

Artaxerxes deprived the Lacedæmonians of the dominion of the sea, by means of Conon, the Athenian, who acted in conjunction with Pharnabazus. For Conon, after he had lost the sea-fight at Ægos Potamos, took up his abode in Cyprus; not merely to provide for his own safety, but to wait for a change of affairs, as mariners wait for the turn of the tide. As he saw that his own plan wanted a respectable power to carry it into execution, and that the Persian power required a person of ability to conduct it, he wrote the king an account of the measures he had concerted. The messenger was ordered to get the letter delivered into his hands by Zeno the Cretan, who danced in the revels, or by Polycritus the Mendæan, who was his physician; and in case of their absence, by Ctesias, another physician. The letter, we are told, was given to Ctesias, and he added to it this paragraph, "I desire you, Sir, to "send Ctesias to me, for he will be very serviceable in "the business of the navy." But Ctesias affirms, that the king, without any kind of solicitation, put him upon this service.

After Artaxerxes had gained, by Conon and Pharnabazus, the battle off Cnidus, which stripped the Lacedæmonians of the empire of the sea, he drew almost all Greece into his interest; insomuch that the celebrated peace,

peace, called the Peace of Antalcidas, was entirely of his modelling. Antaclidas was a Spartan, the ſon of Leon, and ſo ſtrongly attached to the king, that he prevailed with the Lacedæmonians to give up to him all the Greek cities in Aſia, and the iſlands which are reckoned amongſt its dependencies, to be held as his tributaries, in virtue of the peace; if we can call that a peace by which Greece was diſhonoured and betrayed; which was indeed ſo vile a bargain, that the moſt unſucceſsful war could have terminated in nothing more inglorious.

Hence it was that Artaxerxes, though, according to Dinon's account, he always deteſted the other Spartans as the moſt impudent of men, yet expreſſed a great regard for Antalcidas, when he came to his court. One evening he took a chaplet of flowers from his head, dipped it in the richeſt eſſences, and ſent it from his table to Antalcidas. All the court was aſtoniſhed at ſuch a mark of favour. But there ſeems to have been a propriety in making him ſo ridiculous a compliment *; and he was a fit man to wear ſuch a crown, who could take off Leonidas and Callicratides in a dance before the Perſians. Somebody happening to ſay in the hearing of Ageſilaus, "Alas for Greece! "when the Lacedæmonians are turning Perſians," he corrected him and ſaid, "No; the Medes are rather turn-"ing Lacedæmonians." But the wit of the expreſſion did not remove the diſgrace of the thing. They loſt their ſuperiority in Greece by the ill-fought battle of Leuctra, as they had before loſt their honour by the vile conditions of this peace.

So long as Sparta kept the lead, the king admitted Antalcidas to the privileges of hoſpitality, and called him his friend. But when, upon their defeat at Leuctra, the Spartans ſent Ageſilaus into Egypt, to get a ſupply of money, and Antalcidas went upon the ſame buſineſs to the Perſian court, Artaxerxes treated him with ſo much neglect and contempt, that between the ridicule he ſuffered from his enemies, and his fear of the reſentment of the *Ephori*, he reſolved, on his return, to ſtarve himſelf to death. Iſmenias the Theban, and Pelopidas, who had lately won the battle of Leuctra, went alſo to the court of Artaxerxes. Pelopidas

* It was a compliment entirely out of character to a Lacedæmonian, who, as ſuch, was ſuppoſed to value himſelf upon the ſimplicity of his manners, and on avoiding all approaches to luxury.

Pelopidas submitted to nothing unworthy of his country or character; but Ismenias being commanded to adore the king, purposely let his ring fall from his finger, and then, by stooping to take it up, appeared in a posture of adoration. Timagoras, the Athenian, having given the king some secret intelligence in a letter which he sent by a secretary named Beluris, he was so much pleased, that he made him him a present of ten thousand *darics*. The same Timagoras wanted a supply of cow's milk, on account of a languishing disorder, and Artaxerxes ordered eighty cows for his use, which were to follow him wherever he went. He likewise sent him a bed with the necessary coverlets, and Persian servants to make it, because he thought the Greeks not skilled in that art; and he order him to be carried to the sea-side in a litter, on account of his indisposition. To this we may add the allowance for his table while he was at court, which was so magnificent, that Ostanes, the king's brother, one day said to him, "Timagoras, remember "this table, for it is not so sumptuous for nothing." This was rather reproaching him with his treason, than calling for his acknowledgments. And, indeed, Timagoras, on his return, was capitally condemned by the Athenians for taking bribes.

Artaxerxes, in some measure, atoned for the causes of sorrow he gave the Greeks, by doing one thing that afforded them great pleasure: He put Tissaphernes, their most implacable enemy to death. This he did partly at the instigation of Parysatis, who added other charges to those alleged against him. For he did not long retain his anger, but was reconciled to his mother, and sent for her to court; because he saw she had understanding and spirit enough to assist in governing the kingdom, and there now remained no farther cause of suspicions and uneasiness between them. From this time she made it a rule to please the king in all her measures, and not to oppose any of his inclinations, by which she gained an absolute ascendant over him. She perceived that he had a strong passion for one of his own daughters, named Atossa. He endeavoured, indeed, to conceal it on his mother's account, and restrained it in public; though, according to some authors, he had already a private commerce with the princess. Parysatis no sooner suspected the intrigue, than she caressed her grand-daughter more than ever; and was continually praising to Artaxerxes both her beauty and

and her behaviour, in which ſhe aſſured him there was ſomething great and worthy of a crown. At laſt, ſhe perſuaded him to make her his wife, without regarding the laws and opinions of the Greeks: "God," ſaid ſhe, "has made "you a law to the Perſians, and a rule of right and wrong." Some hiſtorians, amongſt whom is Heraclides of Cumæ, affirm, that Artaxerxes married not only Atoſſa, but another of his daughters, named Ameſtris, of whom we ſhall ſpeak by and by. His affection for Atoſſa was ſo ſtrong, that though ſhe had a leproſy, which ſpread itſelf over her body, he was not diſguſted at it; but he was daily imploring Juno for her, and graſping the duſt of her temple; for he paid his homage to no other goddeſs. At the ſame time, by his order, his great officers ſent ſo many offerings to her ſhrine, that the whole ſpace between the palace and the temple, which was ſixteen furlongs, was filled with gold, ſilver, purple, and fine * horſes.

He ſent Pharnabazus and Iphicrates to make war upon the Ægyptians; but the expedition miſcarried through the difference which happened between the generals he employed. After this he went in perſon againſt the Caduſians, with three hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. Their country is rough and uneven, and covered with perpetual fogs. As it produces no corn or fruits by cultivation, the inhabitants, a fierce and warlike race of men, live upon wild pears, apples, and other things of that kind. He, therefore, inſenſibly fell into great danger and diſtreſs; for his troops could find no proviſions there, nor could they be ſupplied from any other place. They were forced to kill their beaſts of burthen, and eat them; and thoſe became ſo ſcarce, that an aſs's head was ſold for ſixty *drachmas*. The king's table itſelf was ill ſupplied; and there remained only a few horſes, all the reſt having been uſed for food.

In this extremity, Tiribazus, who often was in high favour on account of his valour, and often degraded for his levity, and who, at this very time, was in the greateſt diſgrace, ſaved the king and his whole army by the following ſtratagem. The Caduſians having two kings, each

* As horſes ſeem a ſtrange preſent to Juno, and are as ſtrangely mixed with gold, ſilver, and purple, Dacier conjectures, that inſtead of ἱππων, *horſes*, we ſhould read λιθων, *precious ſtones*.

each had his ſeparate camp. Upon this Tiribazus formed his ſcheme; and, after he had communicated it to Artaxerxes, went himſelf to one of thoſe princes, and ſent his ſon to the other. Each impoſed upon the king he applied to, by pretending that the other was going to ſend a private embaſſy to Artaxerxes, to negociate a ſeparate alliance. "But if you are wiſe," ſaid they, "you will be "beforehand with your rival, and we will aſſiſt you in the "whole affair." This argument had its effect; and each, perſuaded that the other was undermining him out of envy, ſent his embaſſadors; the one with Tiribazus, and the other with his ſon. As ſome time paſſed before they returned, Artaxerxes began to ſuſpect; and there were thoſe who ſuggeſted, that Tiribazus had ſome traitorous deſign. The king was extremely dejected, and repenting of the confidence he had repoſed in him, gave ear to all the calumnies of his enemies. But at laſt Tiribazus arrived, as did alſo his ſon, with the Caduſian embaſſadors, and peace was made with both parties; in conſequence of which Tiribazus returned with the king in greater eſteem and authority than ever. During this expedition, Artaxerxes ſhewed that timidity and effeminacy ought not to be aſcribed, as they generally are, to the pomp and luxuries of life, but to a native meanneſs and a depraved judgment. For neither the gold, the purple, nor the jewels, which the king always wore, and which were worth no leſs than twelve thouſand talents, hindered him, from bearing the ſame fatigues and hardſhips with the meaneſt ſoldier in his army. He took his quiver on his back, and his buckler upon his arm, and quitting his horſe, would often march foremoſt up the moſt craggy and difficult places; inſomuch that others found their taſk much lighter, when they ſaw the ſtrength and alacrity with which he proceeded: for he marched above two hundred furlongs a-day.

At laſt he arrived at one of his own palaces, where there were gardens and parks of great extent and beauty, though the country around it was naked and barren. As the weather was exceedingly cold, he permitted his men to cut wood out of his own parks, without ſparing either pine or cypreſs: and when the ſoldiers were loth to touch trees of ſuch ſize and beauty, he took an ax in his own hand, and laid it to the fineſt tree amongſt them. After which they cut them down without ſcruple, and having made

made a number of fires, paſſed the night with great ſatiſfaction.

He found, however, on his arrival at his capital, that he had loſt may brave men, and almoſt all his horſes; and imagining that he was deſpiſed for his loſſes, and the ill ſucceſs of the expedition, he became ſuſpicious of his grandees. Many of them he put to death in anger, and more out of fear. For fear is the moſt ſanguinary principle a tyrant can act from; courage, on the contrary, is merciful, mild, and unſuſpicious. Thus the moſt timorous animals are the hardeſt to be tamed; but the more generous, having leſs ſuſpicion, becauſe they have leſs fear, fly not the careſſes and ſociety of men.

Artaxerxes being now far advanced in years, obſerved his ſons making parties for the crown amongſt his friends and the reſt of the nobility. The more equitable part were for his leaving it to his eldeſt ſon Darius, as he had received it from his father in the ſame right. But his younger ſon Ochus, who was an active man, and of a violent ſpirit, had alſo a conſiderable intereſt among the grandees. Beſides, he hoped to gain his father through Atoſſa; for he paid his court to her, and promiſed to make her the partner of his throne upon the death of Artaxerxes. Nay, it was ſaid that he had already private familiarities with her. Artaxerxes, though he was ignorant of this circumſtance, reſolved to cut off the hopes of Ochus at once; leſt, following the daring ſteps of his uncle Cyrus, he ſhould involve the kingdom again in civil wars. He therefore declared Darius his ſucceſſor, who was now twenty-five * years old, and permitted him to wear the point of his turban † erect, as a mark of royalty.

As it is cuſtomary in Perſia for the heir to aſk a favour of him that declared him ſuch, which, if poſſible, is always granted, Darius aſked for Aſpaſia, who had been the favourite miſtreſs of Cyrus, and was now one of the king's concubines. She was a native of Phocea in Ionia, and her parents, who were above the condition of ſlaves, had given her a good education. One evening ſhe was introduced to Cyrus at ſupper with the other women. They



* In the printed text it is *fifty*; but one of the manuſcripts gives us πεμπτον και εικοσον inſtead of πεντηκοστον. Beſides Plutarch calls him a young man a little below.

† *Citaris.*

approached him without ſcruple, and received his jokes and careſſes with pleaſure: but Aſpaſia ſtood by in ſilence; and when Cyrus called her, ſhe refuſed to go. Perceiving that the chamberlains were about to compel her, ſhe ſaid, "Whoever lays hands upon me ſhall repent it." Upon which the company looked upon her as an unpoliſhed creature; but Cyrus was pleaſed, and ſaid, with a ſmile, to the perſon who brought the women, "Do not you ſee "that of all you have provided, this only has generous and "virtuous ſentiments!" From this moment he attached himſelf to her, loved her moſt of all his concubines, and called her Aſpaſia *the wiſe*. When Cyrus fell in battle, ſhe was taken amongſt the plunder of his camp.

Artaxerxes was much concerned at his ſon's requeſt. For the barbarians are ſo extremely jealous of their women, that capital puniſhment is inflicted, not only on the man who ſpeaks to, or touches one of the king's concubines, but on him who approaches or paſſes their chariots on the road. And though, in compliance with the dictates of his paſſion, he had made Atoſſa his wife contrary to law, he kept three hundred and ſixty concubines, all women of the greateſt beauty. However, when Darius demanded Aſpaſia, he declared her free, and ſaid, "She "might go with him if ſhe pleaſed; but he would do no "violence to her inclinations." Accordingly Aſpaſia was ſent for, and, contrary to the king's expectation, made choice of Darius. He gave her up to him, indeed, becauſe he was obliged to it by the law; but he ſoon took her away, and made her a prieſteſs of Diana of Ecbatana, whom they call *Anitis* *, that ſhe might paſs the remainder of her life in chaſtity. This he thought no ſevere revenge upon his ſon, but a pleaſant way of chaſtiſing his preſumption. But Darius highly reſented the affront; whether it was that the charms of Aſpaſia had made a deep impreſſion upon him, or whether he thought himſelf inſulted and ridiculed by this proceeding.

Tiribazus ſeeing how much he was offended, endeavoured to exaſperate him ſtill more. This he did from a fellow-feeling; for he had ſuffered an injury much of the ſame

* Pauſanias ſays, there was a temple of Diana *Anaitis* in Lydia. But Juſtin tells us, that Artaxerxes made Aſpaſia one of the prieſteſſes of the ſun.

ſame kind. The king, having ſeveral daughters, promiſed to give Apama to Pharnabazus, Rhodogune to Orontes, and Ameſtris to Tiribazus. He kept his word with the two firſt, but deceived Tiribazus; for, inſtead of giving Ameſtris to him, he married her himſelf; promiſing at the ſame time that he ſhould have his youngeſt daughter Atoſſa. But he became enamoured of her too, and married her, as we have already mentioned. This treatment extremely incenſed Tiribazus, who had, indeed, nothing ſteady in his diſpoſition; but was wild and irregular. One while ſucceſsful, and upon a footing with the greateſt men in the court, another while unacceptable to the king, and ſinking into diſgrace, he bore no change of fortune with propriety. If he was in favour, his vanity was inſupportable; if in diſgrace, inſtead of being humble and quiet, he had recourſe to violence and ferocity.

His converſing with the young prince was, therefore, adding flame to fire. "What avails it," ſaid he, "to "have the point of your turban advanced, if you ſeek not "to advance your authority? Nothing can be more abſurd "than your thinking yourſelf ſecure of the ſucceſſion, "while your brother is privately forwarding his intereſt "by means of the women, and your father is ſo very "fooliſh and unſteady. He who could break one of the "moſt ſacred laws of the Perſians, for the ſake of an in"ſignificant Grecian woman, is certainly not to be de"pended upon in more important engagements. The "caſe is quite different between you and Ochus, as to the "event of the competition: if Ochus does not obtain the "crown, none will hinder him from living happily in a "private ſtation; but you, who have been declared king, "muſt either reign or die." On this occaſion was verified that obſervation of Sophocles:

——— Swift in its march ———
Is evil counſel ——————

The road which leads us to what we deſire is, indeed, ſmooth, and of an eaſy deſcent; and the deſires of moſt men are vicious, becauſe they have never known or tried the enjoyments of virtue. The luſtre of ſuch an imperial crown, and Darius's fear of his brother, furniſhed Tiribazus with other arguments; but the goddeſs of beauty contributed her ſhare towards perſuading him, by putting him in mind of the loſs of Aſpaſia.

He gave himſelf up, therefore, entirely to Tiribazus, and many others ſoon entered into the conſpiracy. But before it could be carried into execution, and eunuch gave the king information of it, and of all the meaſures that were taken; for he had got perfect intelligence that they deſigned to enter his chamber in the night, and kill him in his bed.

Artaxerxes thought it would be great imprudence either to ſlight the information, and lay himſelf open to ſuch danger, or to credit it without farther proof. The method he took was this: he ordered the eunuch to join Darius and his adherents, and aſſiſt at all their councils; and in the mean time broke a door through the wall behind his bed, which he concealed with the tapeſtry. When the time came, which the eunuch informed him of, he placed himſelf upon his bed, and remained there till he had a ſight of the faces of the conſpirators, and could perfectly diſtinguiſh each of them. But when he ſaw them draw their ſwords, and advance towards him, he pulled back the tapeſtry, retreated into the inner room, and, after he had bolted the door, alarmed the palace. The aſſaſſins ſeeing themſelves diſcovered, and their deſigns diſappointed, immediately took to flight, and deſired Tiribazus to do the ſame, becauſe he muſt certainly have been obſerved. While he lingered, the guards came and laid hold of him; but he killed many of them, and it was with difficulty that he was deſpatched at laſt by a javelin thrown at a diſtance.

Darius was taken, together with his children, and brought to anſwer for his crime before the judges which the king appointed. The king did not think proper to aſſiſt at the trial in perſon, but directed others to lay the charge againſt his ſon, and his notaries were to take down ſeparately the opinion of each judge. As they all gave it unanimouſly for death, the officers took Darius, and led him into an adjacent priſon. But when the executioner came, with the inſtrument in his hand which is uſed in beheading the capital convicts, he was ſeized with horror at the ſight of Darius, and drew back towards the door, as having neither ability nor courage to lay violent hands upon his king. But the judges who ſtood at the door, urging him to do his office, with menaces of inſtant puniſhment if he did not comply, he returned, and ſeizing Darius by the hair, threw him on the ground, and

and cut off his head. Some ſay the cauſe was tried in preſence of the king, and that Darius, after he was convicted by indubitable proofs, fell on his face and begged for mercy, but Artaxerxes, riſing in great anger, drew his ſcymitar, and purſued his ſtroke till he laid him dead at his feet. They add, that after this he returned to his palace, and having paid his devotions to the ſun, ſaid to thoſe who aſſiſted at the ceremony, "My Perſians, you may now "return in triumph, and tell your fellow-ſubjects, that "the great Oromazes * has taken vengeance on thoſe "who formed the moſt impious and execrable deſigns "againſt their ſovereign." Such was the end of the conſpiracy.

Ochus now entertained very agreeable hopes, and was encouraged beſides by Atoſſa. But he had ſtill ſome fear of his remaining ligitimate brother, Ariaſpes, and of his natural brother Arſames. Not that Ochus had ſo much to apprehend from Ariaſpes, merely becauſe he was older, but the Perſians were deſirous of having him ſucceed to the throne on account of his mildneſs, his ſincerity, and his humane diſpoſition. As for Arſames, he had the character of a wiſe prince, and was the particular favourite of his father. This was no ſecret to Ochus. However, he planned the deſtruction of both theſe brothers of his; and being of an artful, as well as ſanguinary turn, he employed his cruelty againſt Arſames, and his art againſt Ariaſpes. To the latter he privately ſent ſome of the king's eunuch's and friends with frequent accounts of ſevere and menacing expreſſions of his father's, as if he had reſolved to put him to a cruel and ignominious death. As theſe perſons came daily to tell him in confidence, that ſome of theſe threats were upon the point of being put in execution, and the others would not be long delayed, he was ſo terrified, and fell into ſuch a melancholy and deſponding way, that he prepared a poiſonous draught, and drank it, to deliver himſelf from the burthen of life.

The king being informed of the manner of his death, ſincerely lamented him, and had ſome ſuſpicion of the cauſe, but could not examine into it thoroughly on account of his great age.



* The Perſians worſhipped *Oromazes* as the author of Good, and *Arimanius* as the author of Evil.

However, Arſames now became dearer to him than ever, and it was eaſy to ſee that the king placed an entire confidence in him, and communicated to him his moſt ſecret thoughts. Ochus, therefore, would not defer his enterprize longer, but employed Harpates, the ſon of Tiribazus, to kill Arſames. Artaxerxes, whom time had brought to the very verge of life, when he had this additional ſtroke in the fate of Arſames, could not make much more ſtruggle; his ſorrow and regret ſoon brought him to the grave. He lived ninety-four years, and reigned ſixty two * He had the character of a prince who governed with lenity; and loved his people. But perhaps the behaviour of his ſucceſſor might contribute not a little to his reputation; for Ochus was the moſt cruel and ſanguinary of princes.

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# ARATUS.

THE philoſopher Chryſippus, my dear Polycrates, ſeems to have thought the ancient proverb not quite juſtifiable, and therefore he delivered it, not as it really is, but what he thought it ſhould be——

Who but a happy ſon will praiſe his ſire?

Dionyſidorus the Trœzenian, however, corrects him, and gives it right,

Who but unhappy ſons will praiſe their ſires?

He ſays, the proverb was made to ſilence thoſe who, having no merit of their own, dreſs themſelves up in the virtues of their anceſtors, and are laviſh in their praiſes. And thoſe *in whom the virtues of their ſire ſhine in congenial beauty*, to make uſe of Pindar's expreſſion; who, like you, form their conduct after the brighteſt patterns in their families, may think it a great happineſs to remember the moſt excellent of their anceſtors, and often to hear or ſpeak of them. For they aſſume not the honour of other men's virtues for want of merit in their own, but uniting their great actions to thoſe of their progenitors, they praiſe them as the authors of their deſcent, and the models of their lives. For which reaſon, when I have

* Diodorus Siculus ſays, that he reigned only forty-three years.

have written the life of Aratus, your countryman, and one of your anceſtors, I ſhall ſend it to you, who reflect no diſhonour upon him either in point of reputation or power. Not that I doubt your having informed yourſelf of his actions from the firſt with all poſſible care and exactneſs; but I do it, that your ſons, Polycrates and Pythocles, may form themſelves upon the great exemplars, in their own family, ſometimes hearing and ſometimes reading what it becomes them well to imitate. For it is the ſelf-admirer, not the admirer of virtue, that thinks himſelf ſuperior to others.

After the harmony of the pure Doric *, I mean the ariſtocracy, was broken in Sicyon, and ſeditions took place through the ambition of the demagogues, the city continued a long time in a diſtempered ſtate. It only changed one tyrant for another, till Cleon was ſlain, and the adminiſtration committed to Timoclidas and Clinias, perſons of the greateſt reputation and authority amongſt the citizens. The commonwealth ſeemed to be in ſome degree re-eſtabliſhed, when Timoclidas died. Abantidas, the ſon of Paſeas, taking that opportunity to ſet himſelf up tyrant, killed Clinias, and either baniſhed or put to death his friends and relations. He ſought alſo for his ſon Aratus, who was only ſeven years old, with a deſign to deſpatch him. But, in the confuſion that was in his houſe when his father was ſlain, the boy eſcaped among thoſe that fled, and wandered about the city, in fear and deſtitute of help, till he happened to enter, unobſerved, the houſe of a woman named Soſo, who was ſiſter to Abantidas, and had been married to Prophantus, the brother of Clinias. As ſhe was a perſon of generous ſentiments, and perſuaded beſides, that it was by the direction of ſome deity that the child had taken refuge with her, ſhe concealed him in one of her apartments till night, and then ſet him privately to Argos.

Aratus having thus eſcaped ſo imminent a danger, immediately conceived a violent and implacable hatred for tyrants, which increaſed as he grew up. He was educated by the friends of his family at Argos, in a liberal manner; and as he was vigorous and robuſt, he took to gymnaſtic exerciſes and ſucceeded ſo well, as to gain the prize



* There was a gravity, but, at the ſame time, great perfection, in the Dorian muſic.

prize in the five ſeveral ſorts *. Indeed, in his ſtatues there is an athletic look; and amidſt the ſtrong ſenſe and majeſty expreſſed in his countenance, we may diſcover ſomething inconſiſtent with the voracity and mattock of the wreſtlers †. Hence perhaps it was that he cultivated his powers of eloquence leſs than became a ſtateſman. He might indeed be a better ſpeaker than ſome ſuppoſe; and there are thoſe who judge, from his Commentaries, that he certainly was ſo, though they were haſtily written, and attempted nothing beyond common language.

Some time after the eſcape of Aratus, Dinias and Ariſtotle the logician, formed a deſign againſt Abantidas, and they eaſily found an opportunity to kill him, when he attended, and ſometimes joined in, their diſputations in the public halls, which they had inſenſibly drawn him into for that very purpoſe. Paſeas, the father of Abantidas, then ſeized the ſupreme power, but he was aſſaſſinated by Nicocles, who took his place, and was the next tyrant. We are told that there was a perfect likeneſs between this Nicocles and Periander, the ſon of Cypſelus; as Orontes the Perſian reſembled Alcmæon, the ſon of Amphiaraus and a Lacedæmonian youth the great Hector. Myrtilas informs us, that the young man was crowded to death by the multitudes who came to ſee him, when that reſemblance was known.

Nicocles reigned four months, during which time he did a thouſand injuries to the people, and was near loſing the city to the Ætolians, who formed a ſcheme to ſurprize it. Aratus was by this time approaching to manhood, and great attention was paid him on account of his high birth, and his ſpirit, in which there was nothing little or unenterpriſing, and yet it was under the correction of a gravity and ſolidity of judgment much beyond his years. The exiles, therefore, conſidered him as their principal reſource; and Nicocles was not regardleſs of his motions, but by his private agents obſerved the meaſures he was taking. Not that he expected he would embark in ſo bold and dangerous an enterprize as he did, but he ſuſpected his

* The five exerciſes of the *Pentathlum* (as we have already obſerved) were running, leaping, throwing the dart, boxing, and wreſtling.

† They uſed to break up the ground with the mattock, by way of exerciſe, to improve their ſtrength.

Κ᾽ ὠχετ᾽ εχων σκαπαναν τε και εικατι τȣτοθι μαλα.
THEOCRIT.

his applications to the princes who were the friends of his father. Indeed, Aratus began in that channel; but when he found that Antigonus, notwithstanding his promises, put him off from time to time, and that his hopes from Egypt and Ptolemy were too remote, he resolved to destroy the tyrant without any foreign assistance.

The first persons to whom he communicated his intentions were Aristomachus and Ecdelus. Aristomachus was an exile from Sicyon, and Ecdelus an Arcadian banished from Megalopolis. The latter was a philosopher, who in speculation never lost sight of practice, for he had studied at Athens under Arcesilaus the academician *. As these readily accepted his proposal, he applied to the other exiles; a few of whom joined him, because they were ashamed to give up so promising a hope; but the greatest part believed it was only Aratus's inexperience † that made him think of so bold an attempt, and endeavoured to prevent his proceeding.

While he was considering how to seize some post in the territories of Sicyon, from whence he might prosecute hostilities against the tyrant, a man of Sicyon arrived at Argos, who had escaped out of prison. He was brother to Xenocles, one of the exiles; and being introduced by him to Aratus, he informed him, that the part of the wall which he had got over, was almost level with the ground on the inside, as it joined upon a high rocky part of the city, and that on the outside it was not so high but that it might be scaled. Upon this intelligence, Aratus sent two of his servants, Sceuthas and Technon, along with Xenocles, to reconnoitre the wall; for he was resolved, if he could do it secretly, to hazard all upon one great effort, rather than lengthen out the war, and publicly engage with a tyrant, when he had no resources but those of a private man.

Xenocles and his companions, after they had taken the height of the wall, reported, at their return, that it was neither impracticable nor difficult, but that it was dangerous to attempt it on account of some dogs kept by a gardener, which were little indeed, but at the same time extremely fierce and furious. Aratus, however, immediately

* Arcesilaus was the disciple of Crantor, and had established the middle academy.

† He was not yet twenty years old.

diately ſet about the work. It was eaſy to provide arms without ſuſpicion; for almoſt every body went armed, by reaſon of the frequent robberies and the incurſions of one people into the territories of another. And as to the ſcaling ladders, Euphranor, who was one of the exiles, and a carpenter by trade, made them publicly; his buſineſs ſcreening him from ſuſpicion. Each of his friends in Argos, who had no great number of men that he could command, furniſhed him with ten; he armed thirty of his own ſervants, and hired ſome few ſoldiers of Xenophilus, who was chief captain of a band of robbers. To the latter it was given out that the deſign of their march to Sicyon was to carry off the king's ſtud; and ſeveral of them were ſent before by different ways to the tower of Polygnotus, with orders to wait for him there. Capheſias was likewiſe ſent with four others in a travelling dreſs. Theſe were to go in the evening to the gardener's, and pretending to be travellers, get a lodging there; after which they were to confine both him and his dogs: for that part of the wall was not acceſſible any other way. The ladders being made to take in pieces, were packed up in corn-cheſts, and ſent before in waggons prepared for that purpoſe.

In the mean time ſome of the tyrant's ſpies arrived at Argos, and it was reported that they were ſculking about to watch the motions of Aratus. Next morning, therefore, Aratus appeared early with his friends in the market-place, and talked with them for ſome time. He then went to the Gymnaſium, and after he had anointed himſelf, took with him ſome young men from the wreſtling-ring who uſed to be of his parties of pleaſure, and returned home. In a little time his ſervants were ſeen in the market-place, ſome carrying chaplets of flowers, ſome buying flambeaux, and ſome in diſcourſe with the women who uſed to ſing and play at entertainments. Theſe manœuvres deceived the ſpies. They laughed and ſaid to each other, "Certainly "nothing can be more daſtardly than a tyrant, ſince Ni-"coles, who is maſter of ſo ſtrong a city, and armed with "ſo much power, lives in fear of a young man, who waſtes "the pittance he has to ſubſiſt on in exile, in drinking and "revelling even in the day-time."—After theſe falſe reaſonings they retired.

Aratus, immediately after he had made his meal, ſet out for the tower of Polygnotus, and when he had joined the

the ſoldiers there, proceeded to Nemea, where he diſcloſed his real intentions to his whole company. Having exhorted them to behave like brave men, and promiſed them great rewards, he gave *propitious Apollo* for the word, and then led them forwards towards Sicyon, governing his march according to the motion of the moon, ſometimes quickening, and ſometimes ſlackening his pace, ſo as to have the benefit of her light by the way, and to come to the garden by the wall juſt after ſhe was ſet. There Capheſias met him, and informed him that the dogs were let out before he arrived, but that he had ſecured the gardener. Moſt of the company were greatly diſpirited at this account, and deſired Aratus to quit his enterprize; but he encouraged them by promiſing to deſiſt, if the dogs ſhould prove very troubleſome. Then he ordered thoſe who carried the ladders to march before, under the conduct of Ecdelus and Mnaſitheus, and himſelf followed ſoftly. The dogs now begun to run about and bark violently at Ecdelus and his men; nevertheleſs they approached the wall, and planted their ladders ſafe. But as the foremoſt of them were mounting, the officer who was to be relieved by the morning guard paſſed by that way at the ſound of bell, with many torches and much noiſe. Upon this, the men laid themſelves cloſe to their ladders, and eſcaped the notice of this watch without much difficulty; but when the other which was to relieve it came up, they were in the utmoſt danger. However, that too paſſed by without obſerving them; after which, Mnaſitheus and Ecdelus mounted the wall firſt, and having ſecured the way both to the right and left, they ſent Technon to Aratus to deſire him to advance as faſt as poſſible.

It was no great diſtance from the garden to the wall, and to a tower in which was placed a great hunting dog to alarm the guard. But whether he was naturally drowſy, or had wearied himſelf the day before, he did not perceive their entrance. But the gardener's dogs awaking him by barking below, he began to growl; and when Aratus's men paſſed by the tower, he barked out, ſo that the whole places reſounded with the noiſe. Then the ſentinel, who kept watch oppoſite to the tower, called aloud to the huntſman, and aſked him, "Whom the dog barked at ſo "angrily, or whether any thing new had happened?" The huntſman anſwered from the tower, "That there "was nothing extraordinary, and that the dog was only "diſturbed

"disturbed at the torches of the guards and the noise of "the bell." This encouraged Aratus's soldiers more than any thing; for they imagined that the huntsman concealed the truth because he had a secret understanding with their leader, and that there were many others in the town who would promote the design. But when the rest of their companions came to scale the wall, the danger increased. It appeared to be a long affair, because the ladders shook and swung extremely if they did not mount them softly and one by one; and the time pressed, for the cocks began to crow. The country people, too, who kept the market, were expected to arrive every moment. Aratus, therefore, hastened up himself when only forty of his company were upon the wall; and when a few more had joined him from below, he put himself at the head of his men, and marched immediately to the tyrant's palace, where the main-guard was kept, and where the mercenaries passed the night under arms. Coming suddenly upon them, he took them prisoners without killing one man; and then sent to his friends in the town to invite them to come and join him. They ran to him from all quarters; and day now appearing, the theatre was filled with a crowd of people who stood in suspence; for they had only heard a rumour, and had no certainty of what was doing, till a herald came and proclaimed it in these words, "Aratus the son of Clinias calls the citizens "to liberty."

Then persuaded that the day they had long expected was come, they rushed in multitudes to the palace of the tyrant, and set fire to it. The flame was so strong that it was seen as far as Corinth, and the Corinthians wondering what might be the cause, were upon the point of going to their assistance. Nicocles escaped out of the city by some subterranean conduits; and the soldiers having helped the Sicyonians to extinguish the fire, plundered his palace. Nor did Aratus hinder them from taking this booty; but the rest of the wealth which the several tyrants had amassed, he bestowed upon the citizens.

There was not so much as one man killed or wounded in this action, either of Aratus's party or of the enemy; fortune so conducting the enterprize, as not to fully it with the blood of one citizen. Aratus recalled eighty persons who had been banished by Nicocles, and of those that had been expelled by the former tyrants not less

than

than five hundred. The latter had long been forced to wander from place to place, some of them full fifty years; consequently most of them returned in a destitute condition. They were now, indeed, restored to their ancient possessions; but their going into houses and lands which had found new masters, laid Aratus under great difficulties. Without, he saw Antigonus envying the liberty which the city had recovered, and laying schemes to enslave it again, and within he found nothing but faction and disorder. He therefore judged it best in this critical situation to join it to the Achæan league. As the people of Sicyon were Dorians, they had no objection to being called a part of the Achæan community, or to their form of government *. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the Archæans at that time were no very great or powerful people. Their towns were generally small, their lands neither extensive nor fertile; and they had no harbours on their coasts, the sea for the most part entering the land in rocky and impracticable creeks. Yet none gave a better proof than this people, that the power of Greece is invincible, while good order and harmony prevail amongst her members, and she has an able general to lead her armies. In fact, these very Achæans, though but inconsiderable

* The Dutch republic much resembles it. The Achæans, indeed, at first had two *Prætors* whose office it was both to preside in the diet, and to command the army; but was soon thought advisable to reduce them to one. There is this difference, too, between the Dutch Stadholder and the Archæan Prætor, that the latter did not continue two years successively in his employment. But in other respects there is a striking similarity between the states of Holland and those of the Achæan league; and if the Achæans could have become a maritime power like the Dutch, their power would probably have been much more extensive and lasting than it was.

All the cities subject to the Achæan league were governed by the great council, or general assembly of the whole nation, which was assembled twice a year, in the spring and autumn. To this assembly, or diet, each of the confederate cities had a right to send a number of deputies, who were elected in their respective cities by a plurality of voices. In these meetings they enacted laws, disposed of the vacant employments, declared war, made peace, concluded alliances, and, in short, provided for all the principal occasions of the commonwealth.

Beside the *Prætor*, they had ten great officers called *Demiurgi*, chosen by the general assembly out of the most eminent and experienced persons amongst the states. It was their office to assist the prætor with their advice. He was to propose nothing to the general assembly, but what had been previously approved by their body, and in his absence the whole management of civil affairs devolved upon them.

ſiderable in compariſon of the Greeks in their flouriſh-ing times, or, to ſpeak more properly, not equalling in their whole community the ſtrength of one reſpectable city in the period we are upon, yet by good counſels and unanimity, and by hearkening to any man of ſuperior virtue, inſtead of envying his merit, not only kept them-ſelves free amidſt ſo many powerful ſtates and tyrants, but ſaved great part of Greece, or reſcued it from chains.

As to his character, Aratus had ſomething very popular in his behaviour; he had a native greatneſs of mind, and was more attentive to the public intereſt than to his own. He was an implacable enemy to tyrants; but with reſpect to others, he made the good of his country the ſole rule of his friendſhip or oppoſition. So that he ſeems rather to have been a mild and moderate enemy, than a zealous friend; his regards or averſions to particular men varying as the occaſions of the commonwealth dictated. In ſhort, nations and great communities with one voice re-echoed the declaration of the aſſemblies and theatres, that Aratus loved none but good men *. With regard to open wars and pitched battles, he was indeed diffident and timorous; but in gaining a point by ſtratagem, in ſurprizing cities and tyrants, there could not be an abler man.

To this cauſe we muſt aſſign it, that after he had ex-erted great courage and ſucceeded in enterprizes that were looked upon as deſperate; through too much fear and caution he gave up others that were more practicable, and not of leſs importance. For, as amongſt animals there are ſome that can ſee very clearly in the night, and yet are next

* Ομονοιας εθνων και κοινωνιας πολεων, και συνεδριȣ και θεατρȣ μεν αφανην αφιεντος, ὡς ȣδενος αλλ' † ἡ των καλων ερατης. The former tranſlator has given us a good ſentiment, but the original will not bear it. "Of all thoſe things which are eſteemed moſt excel-"lent, none gave him ſo great delight as concord between nations, "aſſociations of cities, and unanimity in public aſſemblies." He ſeems to have read αλλȣ without the ἢ that follows. In that caſe, indeed, it would be capable of his conſtruction; but we have no authority for ſuch an omiſſion. We will not ſay, however, that his conjecture is wrong, or that αλλȣ has not been changed into αλλ' η; for it certainly was Aratus's principal object to aſſociate in cities in one community, and promote harmony amongſt the Greeks.

† *One of the manuſcripts gives us* αλλȣ ἢ.

next to blind in the day-time, the dryneſs of the eye, and the ſubtilty of its humours, not ſuffering them to bear the light; ſo there is in man a kind of courage and underſtanding, which is eaſily diſconcerted in open dangers and encounters, and yet reſumes a happy boldneſs in ſecret enterprizes. The reaſon of this inequality in men, of parts otherwiſe excellent, is their wanting the advantages of philoſophy. Virtue is in them the product of nature, unaſſiſted by ſcience, like the fruits of the foreſt, which come without the leaſt cultivation *. Of this there are many examples to be found.

After Aratus had engaged himſelf and his city in the Achæan league, he ſerved in the cavalry, and the generals highly eſteemed him for his ready obedience. For though he had contributed ſo much to the common cauſe by his name and by the forces of Sicyon, yet the Achæan commander, whether of Dima, or Tritta, or ſome more inconſiderable town, found him always as tractable as the meaneſt ſoldier.

When the king of Egypt made him a preſent of twenty-five talents, he received it indeed, but laid out the whole upon his fellow citizens; relieving the neceſſitous with part of it, and ranſoming ſuch as were priſoners with the reſt.

But the exiles whom Aratus had recalled, would not be ſatisfied with any thing leſs than the reſtitution of their eſtates, and gave the preſent poſſeſſors ſo much trouble, that the city was in danger of being ruined by ſedition. In this extremity he ſaw no reſource except in the generoſity of Ptolemy, and therefore determined to take a voyage to Egypt, and apply to him for as much money as would reconcile all parties. Accordingly he ſet ſail for Methone above the promontory of Malea, in hopes of taking the ſhorteſt paſſage. But a contrary wind ſprang up, and the ſeas ran ſo high, that the pilot, unable to bear up againſt them, changed his courſe, and with much difficulty got into Adria †, a town which was in

* This character of Aratus is perfectly agreeable to what Polybius has given us in his fourth book. Two great maſters will draw with equal excellence, though their manner muſt be different.

† Palmerius conjectures that we ſhoul read *Andria*, which he ſuppoſes to be a town in the iſland of *Andros*. He confirms it with this argument, that Aratus is ſaid to have paſſed from hence to Eubœa, which is oppoſite to that iſland.

in the enemy's hands; for Antigonus had a garrison there. To avoid this imminent danger he landed, and, with only one friend named Timanthes, making his way as far as possible from the sea, sought for shelter in a place well covered with wood, in which he and his companion spent a very disagreeable night. Soon after he had left the ship, the governor of the fort came and inquired for him; but he was deceived by Aratus's servants, who were instructed to say he had made off in another vessel to Eubœa. However, he detained the ship and servants as lawful prize. Aratus spent some days in this distressful situation, where one while he looked out to reconnoitre the coast, and another while kept himself concealed; but at last by good fortune a Roman ship happened to put in near the place of his retreat. The ship was bound for Syria, and Aratus prevailed upon the master to land him in Caria. But he had equal dangers to combat at sea in this as in his former passages. And when he was in Caria, he had a voyage to take to Ægypt, which he found a very long one, upon his arrival, however, he was immediately admitted to audience by the king, who had long been inclined to serve him on account of the paintings which he used to compliment him with from Greece. For Aratus, who had a taste for these things, was always collecting for him the pieces of the best masters, particularly those of Pamphilus and Melanthus *. For Sicyon was famed for the cultivation of the arts, particularly the art of painting; and it was believed that there only the ancient elegance was preserved without the least corruption. Hence it was, that the great Apelles, at a time when he was much admired, went to Sicyon, and gave the painters a talent, not so much for any improvement he expected, as for the reputation of having been of their school. In consequence of which, Aratus, when he restored Sicyon to liberty, and destroyed the portraits of the tyrants, hesitated a long time on coming to that of Aristratus; for it was the united work of the disciples of Melanthus, who had represented him standing in a chariot of victory, and the

* Two of the most celebrated painters of all antiquity. Pamphilus had been brought up under Eupompus, and was the master of Apelles and Melanthus. The capital pieces of Pamphilus were, *a Brotherhood*, *a Battle*, *the Victory of the Athenians*, and *Ulysses in his vessel, taking leave of Calypso*. Pliny tells us, that the whole wealth of a city could scarce purchase one of the pieces of Melanthus.

the pencil of Apelles had contributed to the performance, as we are informed by Polemo the geographer.

The piece was ſo admirable that Aratus could not avoid feeling the art that was diſplayed in it? but his hatred of tyrants ſoon over-ruled that feeling, and he ordered it to be defaced. Nealces the painter *, who was honoured with his friendſhip, is ſaid to have implored him with tears to ſpare that piece: and when he found him inflexible, ſaid, "Aratus, continue your war with "tyrants, but not with every thing that belongs to them. "Spare at leaſt the chariot and the victory, and I ſhall "ſoon make Ariſtratus vaniſh." Aratus gave his conſent, and Nealces defaced the figure of Ariſtratus, but did not venture to put any thing in its place except a palm-tree. We are told, however, that there was ſtill a dim appearance of the feet of Ariſtratus at the bottom of the chariot.

This taſte for painting had already recommended Aratus to Ptolemy, and his converſation gained ſo much farther upon him, that he made him a preſent of a hundred and fifty talents for the city; forty of which he ſent with him on his return to Peloponneſus, and he remitted the reſt in the ſeveral portions and at the times that he had fixed. It was a glorious thing to apply ſo much money to the uſe of his fellow-citizens, at a time when it was common to ſee generals and demagogues, for much ſmaller ſums which they received of the kings, to oppreſs, enſlave, and betray to them the cities where they were born. But it was ſtill more glorious, by this money to reconcile the poor to the rich, to ſecure the commonwealth, and eſtabliſh harmony amongſt all ranks of people.

His moderation in the exerciſe of the great power he was veſted with, was truly admirable. For, being appointed ſole arbitrator of the claims of the exiles, he refuſed to act alone, and joined fifteen of the citizens in the commiſſion; with whoſe aſſiſtance, after much labour and attention, he eſtabliſhed peace and friendſhip amongſt the people.

* Nealces was a painter of great reputation. One of his pieces was the naval fight between the Egyptians and the Perſians. As the action was upon the Nile, whoſe colour is like that of the ſea, he diſtinguiſhed it by a ſymbol. He drew an aſs drinking on the ſhore, and a crocodile in the act to ſpring upon him. PLIN. l. xxxv. c. ii.

people. Beſide the honours which the whole community conferred on him for theſe ſervices, the exiles in particular erected his ſtatue in braſs, and put upon it this inſcription:

Far as the pillars which Alcides rear'd,
Thy counſels and thy deeds in arms for Greece
The tongue of Fame has told. But we, Aratus,
We wanderers whom thou haſt reſtor'd to Sicyon,
Will ſing thy juſtice; place thy pleaſing form,
As a benignant power with gods that ſave.
For thou haſt given that dear equality,
And all the laws which favouring heaven might give.

Aratus, after ſuch important ſervices, was placed above envy amongſt his people. But king Antigonus, uneaſy at the progreſs he made, was determined either to gain him, or to make him obnoxious to Ptolemy. He therefore gave him extraordinary marks of his regard, though he wanted no ſuch advances. Amongſt others this was one. On occaſion of a ſacrifice which he offered at Corinth, he ſent portions of it to Aratus at Sicyon: and at the feaſt which enſued, he ſaid in full aſſembly, "I at firſt looked "upon this young Sicyonian only as a man of a liberal "and patriotic ſpirit, but now I find that he is alſo a "good judge of the characters and affairs of princes. "At firſt he overlooked us for the ſake of foreign hopes, "and the admiration he had conceived from ſtories of the "wealth, the elephants, fleets, and the ſplendid court of "Ægypt; but ſince he has been upon the ſpot, and ſeen "that all this pomp is merely a theatrical thing, he is "come over entirely to us. I have received him to my "boſom, and am determined to employ him in all my "affairs. I deſire, therefore, you will all conſider him "as a friend." The envious and malevolent, took occaſion from this ſpeech to lay heavy charges againſt Aratus in their letters to Ptolemy, inſomuch that the king ſent one of his agents to tax him with his infidelity. Thus, like paſſionate lovers, the candidates for the firſt favours of kings diſpute them with the utmoſt envy and malignity.

After Aratus was firſt choſen general of the Achæan league, he ravaged Locris, which lies on the other ſide of the gulph of Corinth; and committed the ſame ſpoil in the territories of Calydon. It was his intention to

aſſiſt

assist the Bœotians with ten thousand men, but he came too late; they were already defeated by the Ætolians in an action near Chæronea *, in which Abœocritus their general, and a thousand of their men, were slain.

The year following †, Aratus, being elected general again, undertook that celebrated enterprize of recovering the citadel of Corinth; in which he consulted not only the benefit of Sicyon and Achia, but of Greece in general; for such would be the expulsion of the Macedonian garrison, which was nothing better than a tyrant's yoke. As Chares, the Athenian general, upon a battle which he won of the king of Persia's lieutenants, wrote to the people, that he had gained a victory which was sister to that of Marathon; so we may justly call this exploit of Aratus sister to that of Pelopidas the Theban, and Thrasybulus the Athenian, when they killed the tyrants. There is, indeed, this difference, that Aratus's enterprize was not against Greeks, but against a foreign power, which is a difference much to his honour. For the Isthmus of Corinth, which separates the two seas, joins our continent to that of Peloponnesus; and when there is a good garrison in the citadel of Corinth, which stands on a high hill in the middle, at an equal distance from the two continents, it cuts off the communication with those within the Isthmus, so that there can be no passage for troops, nor any kind of commerce, either by sea or land. In short, he that is possessed of it, is master of all Greece. The younger Philip of Macedon, therefore, was not jesting, but spoke a serious truth, when he called the city of Corinth *the fetters of* Greece. Hence the place was always much contended for, particularly by kings and princes.

Antigonus's passion, for it was not less than that of love in its greatest madness; and it was the chief object of his cares to find a method of taking it by surprise, when the hopes of succeeding by open force failed. When Alexander,

* We must take care to distinguish this battle of Chæronea, from that great action in which Philip of Macedon beat the Thebans and Athenians, and which happened sixty-six years before Aratus was born.

† Polybius, who wrote from Aratus's Commentaries, tells us, there were eight years between Aratus's first prætorship, and his second, in which he took *Acrocorinth*.

Alexander, who was maſter of the citadel, died of poiſon, that is ſaid to have been given him through Antigonus's means, his wife Nicæa, into whoſe hands it then fell, guarded it with great care. But Antigonus, hoping to gain it by means of his ſon Demetrius, ſent him to make her an offer of his hand. It was a flattering proſpect to a woman ſomewhat advanced in years, to have ſuch a young prince for her huſband. Accordingly Antigonus caught her by this bait. However, ſhe did not give up the citadel, but guarded it with the ſame attention as before. Antigonus pretending to take no notice, celebrated the marriage with ſacrifices and ſhews, and ſpent whole days in feaſting the people, as if his mind had been entirely taken up with mirth and pleaſure. One day, when Amœbeus was to ſing in the theatre, he conducted Nicæa in perſon on her way to the entertainment in a letter ſet out with royal ornaments. She was elated with the honour, and had not the leaſt thought of what was to enſue. But when they came to the point which bore towards the citadel, he ordered the men that bore the litter to proceed to the theatre; and bidding farewel to Amœbeus and the wedding, he walked up to the fort, much faſter than could have been expected from a man of his years. Finding the gate barred, he knocked with his ſtaff, and commanded the guard to open it. Surprized at the ſight of him, they complied, and thus he became maſter of the place. He was not able to contain his joy on that occaſion: he drank and revelled in the open ſtreets, and in the market-place, attended with female muſicians, and crowned with flowers. When we ſee a man of his age, who had experienced ſuch changes of fortune, carouſe and indulge his tranſports, embracing and ſaluting every one he meets, we muſt acknowledge that unexpected joy raiſes greater tumults in an unbalanced mind, and overſets it ſooner, than either fear or ſorrow.

Antigonus having in this manner made himſelf maſter of the citadel, garriſoned it with men in whom he placed the greateſt confidence, and made the philoſopher Perſæus governor. Whilſt Alexander was living, Aratus had caſt his eye upon it, as an excellent acquiſition for his country; but, the Achæans admitting Alexander into the league, he did not proſecute his deſign. Afterwards, however, a new occaſion preſented itſelf. There were in Corinth four brothers, natives of Syria, one of which,

named Diocles, ſerved as a ſoldier in the garriſon. The other three having ſtolen ſome of the king's money, retired to Sicyon, where they applied to one Ægias a banker, whom Aratus uſed to employ. Part of this gold they immediately diſpoſed of to him, and Erginus, one of the three, at ſeveral viſits, privately changed the reſt. Thus an acquaintance was formed between him and Ægias, who one day drew him into diſcourſe about the garriſon. Erginus told him, that as he often went up to viſit his brother, he had obſerved on the ſteepeſt ſide a ſmall winding path cut in the rock, and leading to a part of the wall much lower than the reſt. Upon this, Ægias ſaid with an air of raillery, "Why will you, my good friend, "purloin the king's treaſures for ſo inconſiderable a ſum, "when you might raiſe yourſelves to opulence by one "hour's ſervice? Do not you know that if you are taken, "you will as certainly be put to death for this trifling "theſt, as if you had betrayed the citadel?" Erginus laughed at the hint, and promiſed to ſound his brother Diocles upon the ſubject; for he could not, he ſaid, place much confidence in the other two.

A few days after this he returned, and had an interview with Aratus, at which it was agreed that he ſhould conduct him to a part of the wall that was not above fifteen feet high, and that both he and his brother Diocles ſhould aſſiſt him in the reſt of the enterprize. Aratus, on his part, promiſed to give them ſixty talents, if he ſucceeded; and in caſe they failed, and yet returned all ſafe to Sicyon, he engaged that each of them ſhould have a houſe and one talent. As it was neceſſary that the ſixty talents ſhould be depoſited in the hands of Ægias, for the ſatisfaction of Erginus, and Aratus neither had ſuch a ſum, nor choſe to borrow it, becauſe that might create ſome ſuſpicion of his intentions, he took moſt of his plate and his wife's jewels, and pledged them with Ægias for the money. Such was the greatneſs of his ſoul, ſuch his paſſion for high achievements, that knowing that Phocion and Epaminondas were accounted the juſteſt and moſt excellent of all the Greeks, for refuſing great preſents, and not ſacrificing virtue to money, he aſcended a ſtep higher. He privately gave money, he embarked his eſtate in an enterprize, where he alone was to expoſe himſelf for the many, who were not even apprized of his intentions in their favour. Who then can ſufficiently admire his magnanimity?

magnanimity? Who is there, even in our days, that is not fired with an ambition to imitate the man who purchased so much danger at so great an expence, who pledged the most valuable of his goods for the sake of being introduced by night amongst enemies, where he was to fight for his life, without any other equivalent than the hope of performing a great action?

This undertaking, which was dangerous enough in itself, became more so by a mistake which they committed in the beginning. Technon, one of Aratus's servants, of whom we have already spoken, was sent before to Diocles, that they might reconnoitre the wall together. He had never seen Diocles, but he thought he should easily know him by the marks which Erginus had given, which were curled hair, a swarthy complexion, and want of beard. He went, therefore, to the place appointed, and sat down before the city at a point called *Ornis*, to wait for Erginus and his brother Diocles. In the mean time Dionysius their eldest brother, who knew nothing of the affair, happened to come up. He greatly resembled Diocles; and Technon, struck with his appearance, which answered the description, asked him if he had any connection with Erginus. He said he was his brother: upon which, Technon, thoroughly persuaded that he was speaking to Diocles, without asking his name, or waiting for any token, gave him his hand, mentioned to him the circumstances of the appointment with Erginus, and asked him many questions about it. Dionysius availed himself very artfully of the mistake, agreed to every point, and returning towards the city, held him in discourse without giving him the least cause of suspicion. They were now near the town, and he was on the point of seizing Technon, when by good fortune Erginus met them, and perceiving how much his friend was imposed upon, and the great danger he was in, beckoned to him to make his escape. Accordingly they both fled, and got safe to Aratus. However, Aratus did not give up his hopes, but immediately sent Erginus to Dionysius, to offer him money, and intreat him to be silent; in which he succeeded so well, that he brought Dionysius along with him to Aratus. When they had him in their hands, they did not think it safe to part with him; they bound and set a guard on him in a small apartment, and then prepared for their principal design.

When every thing was ready, Aratus ordered his troops to paſs the night under arms; and taking with him four hundred picked men, few of whom knew the buſineſs they were going about, he led them to the gates of the city near the temple of Juno. It was then about the middle of ſummer, the moon at the full, and the night without the leaſt cloud. As their arms glittered with the reflection of the moon, they were afraid that circumſtance would diſcover them to the watch. The foremoſt of them were now near the walls, when clouds aroſe from the ſea, and covered the city and its environs. The men ſat down and took off their ſhoes, that they might make the leſs noiſe, and mount the ladders without danger of ſlipping. But Erginus took with him ſeven young men in the habit of travellers, and getting unobſerved to the gate, killed the keeper and the guard that were with him. At the ſame time the ladders were applied to the walls, and Aratus, with a hundred men, got over with the utmoſt expedition. The reſt he commanded to follow in the beſt manner they could, and having immediately drawn up his ladders, he marched at the head of his party through the town towards the citadel, confident of ſucceſs, becauſe he was not diſcovered.

As they advanced they met four of the watch with a light, which gave Aratus a full and timely view of them, while he and his company could not be ſeen by them, becauſe the moon was ſtill overclouded. He therefore retired under ſome ruined walls, and lay in ambuſh for them. Three out of the four were killed; but the other, after he had received a cut upon his head, ran off, crying "That the enemy was in the city." A little after, the trumpets ſounded, and the whole town was in motion on the alarm. The ſtreets were filled with people running up and down, and ſo many lights were brought out, both in the lower town and in the citadel, that the whole was illuminated, and a confuſed noiſe was heard from every quarter. Aratus went on, notwithſtanding, and attempted the way up the rock. He proceeded in a ſlow and difficult manner at firſt, becauſe he had loſt the path which lay deep beneath the craggy parts of the rock, and led to the wall by a great variety of windings and turnings. But at that moment, the moon, as it were by miracle, is ſaid to have diſperſed the clouds, and thrown a light on the moſt obſcure part of the path, which continued till

he reached the wall at the place he wanted. Then the clouds gathered afresh, and she hid her face again.

In the mean time the three hundred men whom Aratus had left by the temple of Juno had entered the city, which they found all in an alarm, and full of lights. As they could not find the way Aratus had taken, nor trace him in the least, they screened themselves under the shady side of a high rock, and waited there in great perplexity and distress. By this time Aratus was engaged with the enemy on the ramparts of the citadel, and they could distinguish the cries of combatants; but as the noise was echoed by the neighbouring mountains, it was uncertain from whence it first came. Whilst they were in doubt what way to turn, Archelaus, who commanded the king's forces, took a considerable corps, and began to ascend the hill with loud shouts, and trumpets sounding, in order to attack Aratus's rear. He passed the party of the three hundred without perceiving them; but he was no sooner gone by, than they rose as from an ambuscade, fell upon him, and killing the first they attacked, so terrified the rest, and even Archelaus himself, that they turned their backs, and were pursued till they entirely dispersed.

When the party was thus victorious, Erginus came to them from their friends above, to inform them that Aratus was engaged with the enemy, who defended themselves with great vigour, that the wall itself was disputed, and that their general wanted immediate assistance. They bade him lead them to the place that moment; and as they ascended, they discovered themselves by their shouts. Thus their friends were encouraged, and the reflection of the full moon upon their arms, made their numbers appear greater to their enemies, on account of the length of the path. In the echoes of the night, too, the shouts seemed to come from a much larger party. At last they joined Aratus, and with an united effort beat off the enemy, and took post upon the wall. At break of day the citadel was their own, and the first rays of the sun did honour to their victory. At the same time the rest of Aratus's forces arrived from Sicyon: The Corinthians readily opened their gates to them, and assisted in taking the king's soldiers prisoners.

When he thought his victory complete, he went down from the citadel to the theatre; an innumerable multitude

tude crowding to ſee him, and to hear the ſpeech that he would make to the Corinthians. After he had diſpoſed the Achæans on each ſide of the avenues to the theatre, he came from behind the ſcenes, and made his appearance in his armour. But he was ſo much changed by labour and watching, that the joy and elevation which his ſucceſs might have inſpired, was weighed down by the extreme fatigue of his ſpirits. On his appearance, the people immediately began to expreſs their high ſenſe of his ſervices; upon which, he took his ſpear in his right hand, and leaning his body and one knee a little againſt it, remained a long time in that poſture ſilent, to receive their plaudits and acclamations, their praiſes of his virtue, and compliments on his good fortune.

After their firſt tranſports were over, and he perceived that he could be heard, he ſummoned the ſtrength he had left, and made a ſpeech in the name of the Achæans ſuitable to the great event, perſuaded the Corinthians to join the league, and delivered to them the keys of their city, which they had not been maſters of ſince the times of Philip. As to the generals of Antigonus, he ſet Archelaus, who was his priſoner, free; but he put Theophraſtus to death, becauſe he refuſed to leave Corinth. Perſæus, on the taking of the citadel, made his eſcape to Cenchreæ. Some time after, when he was amuſing himſelf with diſputations in philoſophy, and ſome perſon advanced this poſition, "None but the wiſe man is fit to be "a general." "It is true," ſaid he, "and the gods know "it, that this maxim of Zeno's once pleaſed me more "than all the reſt; but I have changed my opinion, "ſince I was better taught by the young Sicyonian." This circumſtance concerning Perſæus we have from many hiſtorians.

Aratus immediately ſeized the *Heræum*, or temple of Juno, and the harbour of Lechæum, in which he took twenty-five of the king's ſhips. He took alſo five hundred horſes, and four hundred Syrians whom he ſold. The Achæans put a garriſon of four hundred men in the citadel of Corinth, which was ſtrengthened with fifty dogs, and as many men to keep them.

The Romans were great admirers of Philopœmen, and called him *the laſt of the Greeks*; not allowing that there was any great man amongſt that people after him. But, in my opinion, this exploit of Aratus is the laſt which

the Greeks have to boaſt of. Indeed, whether we conſider the boldneſs of the enterpriſe, or the good fortune which attended it, it equals the greateſt upon record. The ſame appears from its immediate conſequences; the Megarenſians revolted from Antigonus, and joined Aratus; the Trœzenians and Epidaurians, too, ranged themſelves on the ſide of the Achæans.

In his firſt expedition beyond the bounds of Peloponneſus, Aratus over-ran Attica, and paſſing into Salamis, ravaged that iſland; ſo that the Achæan forces thought themſelves eſcaped as it were, out of priſon, and followed him wherever he pleaſed. On this occaſion he ſet the Athenian priſoners free without ranſom, by which he ſowed amongſt them the firſt ſeeds of defection from the Macedonians. He brought Ptolemy likewiſe into the Achæan league, by procuring him the direction of the war both by ſea and land. Such was his influence over the Achæans, that, as the laws did not allow him to be general two years together, they appointed him every other year; and in action, as well as counſel, he had always in effect the chief command. For they ſaw it was not wealth, or glory, or the friendſhip of kings, or the advantage of his own country, or any thing elſe, that he preferred to the promotion of the Achæan power. He thought that cities in their ſingle capacity were weak, and that they could not provide for their defence without uniting and binding themſelves together for the common good. As the members of the body cannot be nouriſhed, or live, but by their connection with each other, and when ſeparated pine and decay; ſo cities periſh when they break off from the community to which they belonged; and, on the contrary, gather ſtrength and power, by becoming parts of ſome great body, and enjoying the fruits of the wiſdom of the whole*.

Obſerving,

* We ſhall here give the reader an account of ſome laws, by which the Achæan ſtates were governed. 1. An extraordinary aſſembly was not to be ſummoned at the requeſt of foreign ambaſſadors, unleſs they firſt notified, in writing, to the *Prætor* and *Demiurgi*, the ſubject of their embaſſy. 2. No city, ſubject to the league, was to ſend any embaſſy to a foreign prince or ſtate, without the conſent and approbation of the general diet. 3. No member of the aſſembly was to accept of preſents from foreign princes, under any pretence whatſoever. 4. No prince, ſtate, or city, was to be admitted into the league, without the conſent of the whole alliance. 5. The general aſſembly was not to ſit above three days.

Observing, therefore, that all the braveſt people in his neighbourhood lived according to their own laws, it gave him pain to ſee the Argives in ſlavery, and he took meaſures for deſtroying their tyrant Ariſtomachus *. Beſides, he was ambitious for reſtoring Argos to its liberty, as a reward for the education it had afforded him, and to unite it to the Achæan league. Without much difficulty he found them hardy enough to undertake the commiſſion, at the head of whom was Æſchylus and Charimenes the diviner; but they had no ſwords; for they were forbidden to keep arms, and the tyrant had laid great penalties on ſuch as ſhould be found to have any in their poſſeſſion. To ſupply this defect, Aratus provided ſeveral daggers for them at Corinth, and having ſewed them up in the pack-ſaddles of horſes that were to carry ſome ordinary wares, they were by that ſtratagem conveyed to Argos. In the meantime Charimenes taking in another of his friends as a partner, Æſchylus and his aſſociates were ſo much provoked, that they caſt him off, and determined to do the buſineſs by themſelves. But Charimenes perceiving their intention, in reſentment of the ſlight, informed the tyrant of their purpoſe, when they were ſet out to put it in execution. Upon which they fled with precipitation, and moſt of them eſcaped to Corinth.

It was not long, however, before Ariſtomachus was deſpatched by one of his own ſervants; but before any meaſures could be taken to guard againſt tyranny, Ariſtippus took the reins, and proved a worſe tyrant than the former. Aratus, indeed, marched immediately to Argos with all the Achæans that were able to bear arms, in order to ſupport the citizens, whom he doubted not to find ready to aſſert their liberty. But they had been long accuſtomed to the yoke, and were willing to be ſlaves; inſomuch that not one of them joined him, and he returned with the inconvenience of bringing a charge upon the Achæans, that they had committed acts of hoſtility in time of full peace. For they were ſummoned to anſwer for this injuſtice before the Mantineans.

Aratus did not appear at the trial, and Ariſtippus being the proſecutor, got a fine of thirty *minæ* laid upon the Achæans.



* This Ariſtomachus muſt not be confounded with him who was thrown into the ſea at Cenchreæ. Between them reigned Ariſtippus.

† Polybius places this attempt for the relief of Argos under the ſecond Ariſtomachus. Vid. Polyb. lib. ii.

Achæans. As that tyrant both hated and feared Aratus, he meditated his death, and Antagonus entered into the scheme. They had their emissaries in almost every quarter, watching their opportunity. But the surest guard for a prince, or other chief, is the sincere affection of his people. For when the commons and the nobility, instead of fearing their chief magistrate, fear for him, he sees with many eyes, and hears with many ears. And here I cannot but leave a little the thread of my story, to describe that manner of life which Aristippus was under a necessity of leading, if he chose to keep in his hands that despotism, that state of an arbitrary sovereign, which is commonly so much envied, and admired as the highest pitch of happiness.

This tyrant, who had Antigonus for his ally, who kept so large a body-guard, and had not left one of his enemies alive in the city, would not suffer his guards to do duty in the palace, but only in the vestibule and porticos about it. When supper was over, he sent away all his servants, barred the door of the hall himself, and with his mistress crept through a trap door into a small chamber above. Upon that door he placed his bed, and slept there as a person in his anxious state of mind may be supposed to sleep. The ladder by which he went up, his mistress's mother took away, and secured in another room till morning, when she brought it again, and called up this wonderful prince, who crept like a reptile out of his hole. Whereas Aratus, who acquired a lasting command, not by force of arms, but by virtue, and in a way agreeable to the laws; who made his appearance without fear in a plain vest and cloak, and always shewed himself an enemy to tyrants, left an illustrious posterity among the Greeks, which flourishes at this day. But of those who have seized castles, who have maintained guards, who have fenced themselves with arms, and gates, and barricadoes, how few can we reckon up that have not, like timorous hares, died a violent death; and not one of them has left a family, or even a monument to preserve his memory with honour.

Aratus made many attempts, both private and open, to pull down Aristippus, and rescue Argos out of his hands, but he always miscarried. Once he applied his scaling ladders, and ascended the wall with a small party, in spite of the extreme danger that threatened him. He

even

even ſucceeded ſo far as to kill the guards that came to oppoſe him: but when day appeared, and the tyrant attacked him on all ſides, the people of Argos, as if he had not been fighting for their liberty, and they were only preſiding at the Nemean games, ſat very impartial ſpectators of the action, without making the leaſt motion to aſſiſt. Aratus defended himſelf with great courage, and though he had his thigh run through with a ſpear, maintained his poſt all day againſt ſuch ſuperior numbers. Would his ſtrength have permitted him to continue the combat in the night too, he muſt have carried his point; for the tyrant now thought of nothing but making his eſcape, and had already ſent moſt of his treaſure on board his ſhips. However, as no one gave Aratus intelligence of this circumſtance, as his water failed, and his wound diſqualified him from any further efforts, he called off his men and retired.

He now deſpaired of ſucceeding by way of ſurpriſe, and therefore openly entered the territories of Argos with his army, and committed great devaſtations. He fought a pitched battle with Ariſtippus near the river Chares, and on that occaſion he was cenſured for deſerting the action, and letting the victory ſlip out of his hands. For one part of his army had clearly the advantage, and was advancing faſt in the purſuit, when he, without being overpowered where he acted in perſon, merely out of fear and diffidence, retired in great diſorder to his camp. His men, on their return from the purſuit, expreſſed their indignation at being prevented from erecting the trophy, after they had put the enemy to flight, and killed many more men than they had loſt. Aratus, wounded with theſe reproaches, determined to riſk a ſecond battle for the trophy. Accordingly, after his men had reſted one day, he drew them out the next. But finding that the enemy's numbers were increaſed, and that their troops were in much higher ſpirits than before, he durſt not venture upon an action, but retreated, after having obtained a truce to carry off the dead. However, by his engaging manners, and his abilities in the adminiſtration, he obviated the conſequences of this error, and added the city of Cleonæ to the Achæan league. In Cleonæ he cauſed the Nemean games to be celebrated; for he thought that city had the beſt and moſt ancient claim to them. The

people of Argos likewife exhibited them; and on this occafion the freedom and fecurity which had been the privilege of the champions, were firft violated. The Achæans confidered as enemies all that had repaired to the games at Argos, and having feized them as they paffed through their territories, fold them for flaves. So violent and implacable was their general's hatred of tyrants.

Not long after, Aratus had intelligence that Ariftippus had a defign upon Cleonæ, but that he was afraid of him, becaufe he then refided at Corinth, which was very near Cleonæ. In this cafe he affembled his forces by proclamation, and having ordered them to take provifions for feveral days, marched to Cenchreæ. By this manœuvre he hoped to bring Ariftippus againft Cleonæ, as fuppofing him at a diftance; and it had its effect. The tyrant immediately fet out from Argos with his army. But it was no fooner dark, than Aratus returned from Cenchreæ to Corinth, and having placed guards in all the roads, led on the Achæans, who followed him in fuch good order, and with fo much celerity and pleafure, that they not only made their march, but entered Cleonæ that night, and put themfelves in order of battle; nor did Ariftippus gain the leaft knowledge of this movement.

Next morning at break of day the gates were opened, the trumpet founded, and Aratus advancing at full fpeed, and with all the alarm of war, fell upon the enemy, and foon routed them. Then he went upon the purfuit, particularly that way which he imagined Ariftippus might take; for the country had feveral outlets. The purfuit was continued as far as Mycenæ, and the tyrant, as Dinias tells us, was overtaken and killed by a Cretan named Tragifcus; and of his army there were above fifteen hundred flain. Aratus, though he had gained this important victory without the lofs of one man, could not make himfelf mafter of Argos, nor deliver it from flavery; for Agias and young Ariftomachus entered it with the king of Macedon's troops, and held it in fubjection.

This action filenced in a great meafure the calumny of the enemy, and put a ftop to the infolent fcoffs of thofe, who, to flatter the tyrants, had not fcrupled to fay, that whenever the Achæan general prepared for battle, his bowels loft their retentive faculty; that when the trumpet founded, his eyes grew dim, and his head giddy; and that when he had given the word, he ufed to afk his

lieutenants,

lieutenants, and other officers, what farther need there could be of him, ſince the die was caſt, and whether he might not retire, and wait the event of the day at ſome diſtance. Theſe reports had prevailed ſo much, that the philoſophers, in their inquiries in the ſchools, whether the palpitation of the heart and change of colour on the appearance of danger, were arguments of cowardice, or only of ſome natural defect, ſome coldneſs in the conſtitution? uſed always to quote Aratus as an excellent general, who yet was always ſubject to theſe emotions on occaſion of a battle.

After he had deſtroyed Ariſtippus, he ſought means to depoſe Lyſiades the Megalopolitan, who had aſſumed the ſupreme power in his native city. This man had ſomething generous in his nature, and was not inſenſible to true honour. He had not, like moſt other tyrants, committed this injuſtice out of a love of licentious pleaſure, or from a motive of avarice; but, incited, when very young, by a paſſion for glory, and unadviſedly believing the falſe and vain accounts of the wondrous happineſs of arbitrary power, he had made it his buſineſs to uſurp it. However, he ſoon felt it a heavy burthen; and being at once deſirous to gain the happineſs which Aratus enjoyed, and to deliver himſelf from the fear of his intriguing ſpirit, he formed the nobleſt reſolution that can be conceived, which was firſt to deliver himſelf from the hatred, the fears, and the guards that encompaſſed him, and then to beſtow the greateſt bleſſing on his country. In conſequence hereof, he ſent for Aratus, laid down the authority he had aſſumed, and joined the city to the Achæan league. The Achæans, charmed with his noble ſpirit, thought it not too great a compliment to elect him general. He was no ſooner appointed, than he diſcovered an ambition to raiſe his name above that of Aratus, and was by that means led to ſeveral unneceſſary attempts, particularly to declare war againſt the Lacedæmonians. Aratus endeavoured to prevent it, but his oppoſition was thought to proceed from envy. Lyſiades was choſen general a ſecond time, though Aratus exerted all his intereſt to get that appointment for another: for, as we have already obſerved, he had the command himſelf only every other year. Lyſiades was fortunate enough to gain that commiſſion a third time, enjoying it alternately with Aratus. But at laſt avowing himſelf his enemy, and often accuſing him to the Achæans in full council, that

that people caſt him off. For he appeared with only an aſſumed character to contend againſt real and ſincere virtue. Æſop tells us, "That the cukoo one day aſked the "little birds why they avoided her; and they anſwered, "it was becauſe they feared ſhe would at laſt prove a "hawk." In like manner it happened to Lyſiades. It was ſuſpected that, as he had been once a tyrant, his laying down his power was not quite a voluntary thing, and that he would be glad to take the firſt opportunity to reſume it.

Aratus acquired new glory in the war with the Ætolians. The Achæans preſſed him to engage them on the confines of Megara; and Agis, king of the Lacedæmonians, who attended with an army, joined his inſtances to theirs; but he would not conſent. They reproached him with want of ſpirit, with cowardice; they tried what the weapons of ridicule could do; but he bore all their attacks with patience, and would not ſacrifice the real good of the community to the fear of ſeeming diſgrace. Upon this principle he ſuffered the Ætolians to paſs mount Gerania, and to enter Peloponneſus without the leaſt reſiſtance. But when he found that in their march they had ſeized Pellene, he was no longer the ſame man. Without the leaſt delay, without waiting till all his forces were aſſembled, he advanced with thoſe he had at hand againſt the enemy, who were much weakened by their late acquiſition, for it had occaſioned the utmoſt diſorder and miſrule. They had no ſooner entered the city, than the private men diſperſed themſelves in the houſes, and began to ſcramble and fight for the booty, while the generals and other officers ſeized the wives and daughters of the inhabitants, and each put his helmet on the head of his prize, as a mark to whom ſhe belonged, and to prevent her coming into the hands of another.

While they were thus employed, news was brought that Aratus was at hand, and ready to fall upon them. The conſternation was ſuch as might be expected amongſt men in extreme diſorder. Before they were all appriſed of their danger, thoſe that were about the gates and in the ſuburbs had ſkirmiſhed a few moments with the Achæans, and were put to flight. And the precipitation with which they fled, greatly diſtreſſed thoſe who had aſſembled to ſupport them. During this confuſion, one of the captives, daughter to Epigethes, a perſon of great eminence

in Pellene, who was remarkable for her beauty and majestic mien, was seated in the temple of Diana, where the officer whose prize she was had placed her, after having put his helmet, which was adorned with three plumes of feathers, on her head. This lady, hearing the noise and tumult, ran out suddenly to see what was the cause. As she stood at the door of the temple, and looked down upon the combatants, with the helmet still upon her head, she appeared to the citizens a figure more than human, and the enemy took her for a deity; which struck the latter with such terror and astonishment, that they were no longer able to use their arms.

The Pelleneans tell us, that the statue of the goddess stands commonly untouched, and that when the priestess moves it out of the temple, in order to carry it in procession, none dare look it in the face, but, on the contrary, they turn away their eyes with great care; for it is not only a terrible and dangerous sight to mankind, but its look renders the trees barren, and blasts the fruits where it passes. They add, that the priestess carried it out on this occasion, and always turning the face directly towards the Ætolians, filled them with horror, and deprived them of their senses. But Aratus, in his Commentaries, makes no mention of any such circumstance; he only says, that he put the Ætolians to flight, and entering the town with the fugitives, dislodged them by dint of sword, and killed seven hundred. This action was one of the most celebrated in history: Timanthes the painter gave a very lively and excellent representation of it.

However, as many powerful states were combining against the Achæans, Aratus hastened to make peace with the Ætolians, which he not only effected with the assistance of Pantaleon, one of the most powerful men amongst them, but likewise entered into an alliance offensive and defensive. He had a strong desire to restore Athens to its liberty, and exposed himself to the severest censures of the Achæans, by attempting to surprise the Piræus, while there was a truce subsisting between them and the Macedonians. Aratus, indeed, in his Commentaries, denies the fact, and lays the blame upon Erginus, with whom he took the citadel of Corinth. He says, it was the peculiar scheme of Erginus, to attempt that port; that, his ladder breaking, he miscarried, and was pursued; and that to save himself, he often called upon Aratus, as if present;

ſent; by which artifice he deceived the enemy, and eſcaped. But this defence of his wants probability to ſupport it. It is not likely that Erginus, a private man, a Syrian, would have formed a deſign of ſuch conſequence, without having Aratus at the head of it, to ſupply him with troops, and to point out the opportunity for the attack. Nay, Aratus proved the ſame againſt himſelf, by making not only two or three, but many more attempts upon the Piræus. Like a perſon violently in love, his miſcarriages did not prevail upon him to deſiſt; for, as his hopes were diſappointed only by the failure perhaps of a ſingle circumſtance, and he was always within a little of ſucceeding, he ſtill encouraged himſelf to go on. In one repulſe, as he fled over the fields of Thiraſium, he broke his leg; and the cure could not be effected, without ſeveral inciſions; ſo that, for ſome time after, when he was called to action, he was carried into the field in a litter.

After the death of Antigonus, and Demetrius's acceſſion to the throne, Aratus was more intent than ever on delivering Athens from the yoke, and conceived an utter contempt for the Macedonians. He was, however, defeated in a battle near Phylacia, by Bithys the new king's general; and a ſtrong report being ſpread on one ſide that he was taken priſoner, and on another, that he was dead, Diogenes, who commanded in the Piræus, wrote a letter to Corinth, inſiſting "That the Achæans "ſhould evacuate the place, ſince Aratus was no more." Aratus happened to be at Corinth when the letter arrived, and the meſſengers finding that their buſineſs occaſioned much laughter, and ſatirical diſcourſe, retired in great confuſion. The king of Macedon himſelf, too, ſent a ſhip with orders "That Aratus ſhould be brought to him in "chains."

The Athenians exceeding themſelves in flattery to the Macedonians, wore chaplets of flowers, upon the firſt report of Aratus's death. Incenſed at this treatment, he immediately marched out againſt them; and proceeded as far as the Academy. But they implored him to ſpare them, and he returned without doing them the leaſt injury. This made the Athenians ſenſible of his virtue; and, as upon the death of Demetrius they were determined to make an attempt for liberty, they called him in to their aſſiſtance. Though he was not general of the

Achæans

Achæans that year, and was so much indisposed besides, by long sickness, as to be forced to keep his bed, yet he caused himself to be carried in a litter, to render them his best services. Accordingly he prevailed upon Diogenes, who commanded the garrison, to give up the Piræus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium to the Athenians, for the consideration of a hundred and fifty talents, twenty of which Aratus himself furnished. Upon this, the Æginetæ and Hermionians joined the Achæans, and great part of Arcadia paid contributions to the league. The Macedonians now found employment enough for their arms nearer home, and the Achæans numbering the Ætolians amongst their allies, found a great addition to their power.

Aratus still proceeded upon his old principles, and in his uneasiness to see tyranny established in a city so near him as that of Argos, sent his agents to Aristomachus, to represent "How advantageous a thing it would be for him "to restore that city to liberty, and join it to the Achæan "league; how noble to follow the example of Lysiades, "and command so great a people with reputation and ho-"nour, as the general of their choice, rather than one city "as a tyrant, exposed to perpetual danger and hatred." Aristomachus listened to their suggestions, and desired Aratus to send him fifty talents to pay off his troops. The money was granted agreeably to his request: but Lysiades, whose commission as general was not expired, and who was ambitious to have this negociation pass with the Achæans for his work, took an opportunity, while the money was providing, to accuse Aratus to Aristomachus, as a person that had an implacable aversion to tyrants, and to advise him rather to put the business into his hands. Aristomachus believed these suggestions, and Lysiades had the honour of introducing him to the league. But on this occasion especially the Achæan council shewed their affection and fidelity to Aratus: For, upon his speaking against Aristomachus, they rejected him with marks of resentment. Afterwards, when Aratus was prevailed upon to manage the affair, they readily accepted the proposal, and passed a decree, by which the Argives and Phliasians were admitted into the league. The year following, too, Aristomachus was appointed general.

Aristomachus finding himself esteemed by the Achæans, was desirous of carrying his arms into Laconia, for which purpose

purpose he sent for Aratus from Athens. Aratus made answer, that he utterly disapproved the expedition, not choosing that the Achæans should engage with Cleomenes *, whose spirit and power kept growing in proportion to the dangers he had to encounter. Aristomachus, however, was bent upon the enterprize, and Aratus yielding to his solicitations, returned to assist him in the war. Cleomenes offered him battle at Palantium, but Aratus prevented him from accepting the challenge. Hereupon, Lysiades accused Aratus to the Achæans, and the year following declared himself his competitor for the command; but Aratus had the majority of votes, and was for the twelfth time declared general.

This year he was defeated by Cleomenes at mount Lycæum; and, in his flight, being forced to wander about in the night, he was supposed to be killed. This was the second time that a report of his death spread over Greece. He saved himself, however; and having collected the scattered remains of his forces, was not satisfied with retiring unmolested: on the contrary, he availed himself in the best manner of his opportunity; and when none expected, or even thought of such a manœuvre, fell suddenly upon the Mantineans, who were allies to Cleomenes, took their city, secured it with a garrison, and declared all the strangers he found there free of the city. In short, he acquired that for the Achæans when beaten, which they could not easily have gained when victorious.

The Lacedæmonians again entering the territories of Megalopolis, he marched to relieve that city. Cleomenes endeavoured to bring him to an engagement, but he declined it, though the Megalopolitans pressed him much to leave the matter to the decision of the sword. For, besides that he was never very fit for disputes in the open field, he was now inferior in numbers; and at time of life when his spirits began to fail, and his ambition was subdue, he would have had to do with a young man of the most adventurous courage. He thought, too, that, if Cleomenes, by his boldness, sought to acquire glory, it became *him*, by his caution, to keep that which he had.

One

* Some authors write, that Cleomenes, at the instigation of the Ætolians, had built a fortress in the territory of the Megalopolitans, called *Athæneum*; which the Achæans considered as an open rupture, and therefore declared, in a general assembly, that the Lacedæmonians should be considered as enemies.

One day the light infantry ſkirmiſhed with the Spartans, and having driven them to their camp, entered it with them, and began to plunder. Aratus even then would not lead on the main body, but kept his men on the other ſide of a defile that lay between, and would not ſuffer them to paſs. Lyſiadas, incenſed at this order, and reproaching him with cowardice, called upon the cavalry to ſupport the party which was in purſuit of the enemy, and not to betray the victory, nor to deſert a man who was going to hazard all for his country. Many of the beſt men in the army followed him to the charge, which was ſo vigorous, that he put the right wing of the Lacedæmonians to flight. But, in the ardour of his courage, and his ambition for honour, he went inconſiderately upon the purſuit, till he fell into an intricate way, obſtructed with trees, and interſected with large ditches. Cleomenes attacked him in this ground, and ſlew him, after he had maintained the moſt glorious of all combats, the combat for his people, almoſt at their own doors. The reſt of the cavalry fled, and turning back upon the main body, put the infantry in diſorder, ſo that the route became general.

This loſs was principally aſcribed to Aratus, for he was thought to have abandoned Lyſiades to his fate. The Achæans, therefore, retired in great anger, and obliged him to follow them to Ægium. There it was decreed in full council, that he ſhould be ſupplied with no more money, nor have any mercenaries maintained; and that if he would go to war, he muſt find reſources for it himſelf. Thus ignominiouſly treated, he was inclined to give up the ſeal, and reſign his command immediately; but, upon more mature conſideration, he thought it better to bear the affront with patience. Soon after this, he led the Achæans to Orchomenus, where he gave battle to Megiſtonus, father-in-law to Cleomenes, killed three hundred of his men, and took him priſoner.

It had been cuſtomary with him to take the command every other year; but when his turn came, and he was called upon to reſume it, he abſolutely refuſed, and Timoxenus was appointed general. The reaſon commonly given for his rejecting that commiſſion, was his reſentment againſt the people for the late diſhonour they had done him; but the real cauſe was the bad poſture of the Achæan affairs. Cleomenes no longer advanced by inſenſible

fenfible fteps: he had no meafures now to keep with the magiftrates at home, nor any thing to fear from their oppofition; for he had put the *Ephori* to death, diftributed the lands in equal portions, and admitted many ftrangers citizens of Sparta. After he had made himfelf abfolute mafter by thefe means at home, he marched into Achaia, and infifted upon being appointed general of the league. Aratus, therefore, is highly blamed, when affairs were in fuch a tempeftuous ftate, for giving up the helm to another pilot, when he ought rather to have taken it by force to fave the community from finking. Or, if he thought the Achæan power beyond the poffibility of being retrieved, he fhould have yielded to Cleomenes, and not have brought Peloponnefus into a ftate of barbarifm again with Macedonian garrifons, nor filled the citadel of Corinth with Illyrian and Gaulifh arms. For this was making thofe men to whom he had fhewn himfelf fuperior, both in his military and political capacity, and whom he vilified fo much in his Commentaries, mafters of his cities, under the fofter, but falfe name of allies. It may be faid, perhaps, that Cleomenes wanted juftice, and was tyrannically inclined; let us grant it for a moment; yet he was a defcendant of the Heraclidæ, and his country was Sparta, the meaneft citizen of which fhould have been preferred as general of the league to the firft of the Macedonians, at leaft by thofe who fet any value on the dignity of Greece. Befides, Cleomenes afked for the command among the Achæans *, only to make their cities happy in his fervices, in return for the honour of the title: whereas Antigonus, though declared commander in chief both by fea and land, would not accept the commiffion till he was paid with the citadel of Corinth; in which he perfectly refembled Æfop's hunter †; for he would not ride the Achæans, though they offered their backs, and though by embaffies and decrees they courted him to do it, till he had firft bridled them by his garrifon,

* Perhaps Aratus was apprehenfive that Cleomenes would endeavour to make himfelf abfolute amongft the Achæans, as he was already in Lacedæmon. There was a poffibility, however, of his behaving with honour as general of the Achæans; whereas, from Antigonus nothing could be expected but chains.

† Horace gives us this fable of Æfop's; but, before Æfop, the poet Stefichorus is faid to have applied it to the Himerians, when they were going to raife a guard for Phalaris.

ſon, and by the hoſtages which they were obliged to deliver to him.

It is true, Aratus labours to juſtify himſelf by the neceſſity of affairs. But Polybius aſſures us, that, long before that neceſſity exiſted, he had been afraid of the daring ſpirit of Cleomenes, and had not only treated with Antigonus in private, but drawn in the Megalopolitans to propoſe it to the general aſſembly of the Achæans, that Antigonus ſhould be invited to their aſſiſtance. For, whenever Cleomenes renewed his depredations, the Megalopolitans were the firſt that ſuffered by them. Phylarchus gives the ſame account; but we ſhould not have afforded him much credit, if he had not been ſupported by the teſtimony of Polybius: for ſuch is his fondneſs for Cleomenes, that he cannot ſpeak of him but in an enthuſiaſtic manner; and, as if he was pleading a cauſe, rather than writing a hiſtory, he perpetually diſparages the one, and vindicates the other.

The Achæans having loſt Mantinea, which Cleomenes now took a ſecond time, and being moreover, defeated in a great battle at Hecatombœum, were ſtruck with ſuch terror, that they immediately invited Cleomenes to Argos, with a promiſe of making him general. But Aratus no ſooner perceived that he was on his march, and had brought his army as far as Lerna, than his fears prevailed, and he ſent ambaſſadors to deſire him to come to the Achæans as friends and allies, with three hundred men only. They were to add, that if he had any diſtruſt of the Achæans, they would give him hoſtages. Cleomenes told them, they did but inſult and mock him with ſuch a meſſage, and returning immediately, wrote a letter to the Achæan council, full of complaints and invectives againſt Aratus. Aratus wrote another againſt Cleomenes in the ſame ſtyle; and they proceeded to ſuch groſs abuſe, as not to ſpare even the characters of their wives and families.

Upon this, Cleomenes ſent a herald to declare war againſt the Achæans; and in the mean time the city of Sicyon was near being betrayed to him. Diſappointed of his expectation there, he turned againſt Pellene, diſlodged the Achæan garriſon, and ſecured the town for himſelf. A little after this, he took Pheneum and Penteleum; and it was not long before the people of Argos adopted his intereſt, and the Phliaſians received his garriſon. So that ſcarce any thing remained firm to the Achæans of the

the dominions they had acquired; Aratus ſaw nothing but confuſion about him; all Peloponneſus was in a tottering condition: and the cities every where excited, by innovators, to revolt. Indeed, none were quiet or ſatisfied with their preſent circumſtances. Even amongſt the Sicyonians and Corinthians many were found to have a correſpondence with Cleomenes, having been long diſaffected to the adminiſtration and the public utility, becauſe they wanted to get the power into their own hands. Aratus was inveſted with full authority to puniſh the delinquents. The corrupt members of Sicyon he cut off; but, by ſeeking for ſuch in Corinth, in order to put them to death, he exaſperated the people, already ſick of the ſame diſtemper, and weary of the Achæan government *. On this occaſion they aſſembled in the temple of Apollo, and ſent for Aratus, being determined either to kill him, or take him priſoner, before they proceeded to an open revolt. He came leading his horſe, as if he had not the leaſt miſtruſt or ſuſpicion. When they ſaw him at the gate, a number of them roſe up, and loaded him with reproaches. But he, with a compoſed countenance and mild addreſs, bade them ſit down again, and not by ſtanding in the way, and making ſuch a diſorderly noiſe, prevent other citizens who were at the door from entering. At the ſame time that he ſaid this, he drew back ſtep by ſtep, as if he was ſeeking ſomebody to take his horſe. Thus he got out of the crowd, and continued to talk, without the leaſt appearance of confuſion, to ſuch of the Corinthians as he met, and deſired them to go to the temple, till he inſenſibly approached the citadel. He then mounted his horſe, and without ſtopping any longer at the fort, than to give his orders to Cleopater the governor to keep a ſtrict guard upon it, he rode off to Sicyon, followed by no more than thirty ſoldiers, for the reſt had left him and diſperſed.

The Corinthians, ſoon appriſed of his flight, went in purſuit of him; but failing in their deſign, they ſent for Cleomenes, and put the city into his hands. He did not, however, think this advantage equal to his loſs in their ſuffering Aratus to eſcape. As ſoon as the inhabitants of that diſtrict on the coaſt called *Acte* had ſurrendered

* What wonder, when they ſaw Aratus unfaithful to his firſt principles, and going to bring them again under the Macedonian yoke?

rendered their towns, he ſhut up the citadel with a wall of circumvallation, and a palliſadoed entrenchment *.

In the mean time many of the Achæans repaired to Aratus at Sicyon, and a general aſſembly was held, in which he was choſen commander in chief, with an unlimited commiſſion. He now firſt took a guard, and it was compoſed of his fellow-citizens. He had conducted the Achæan adminiſtration three and thirty years; he had been the firſt man in Greece, both in power and reputation; but he now found himſelf abandoned, indigent, perſecuted without any thing but one plank to truſt to in the ſtorm that had ſhipwrecked his country. For the Ætolians refuſed him the aſſiſtance which he requeſted, and the city of Athens, though well inclined to ſerve him, was prevented by Euclides and Micion.

Aratus had a houſe and valuable effects at Corinth. Cleomenes would not touch any thing that belonged to him, but ſent for his friends and agents, and charged them to take the utmoſt care of his affairs, as remembering that they muſt give an account to Aratus. To Aratus himſelf he privately ſent Tripylis, and afterwards his father-in-law Megiſtonus, with great offers, and among the reſt a penſion of twelve talents, which was double the yearly allowance he had from Ptolemy. For this, he deſired to be appointed general of the Achæans, and to be joined with him in the care of the citadel of Corinth. Aratus anſwered, "That he did now govern affairs, but "they governed him." As there appeared an inſincerity in this anſwer, Cleomenes entered the territories of Sicyon, and committed great devaſtations. He likewiſe blocked up the city for three months together; all which time Aratus was debating with himſelf whether he ſhould ſurrender the citadel to Antigonus; for he would not ſend him ſuccours on any other condition.

Before he could take his reſolution, the Achæans met in council at Ægium, and called him to attend it. As the town was inveſted by Cleomenes, it was dangerous to paſs. The citizens intreated him not to go, and declared they would not ſuffer him to expoſe himſelf to an enemy who was watching for his prey. The matrons and their children, too, hung upon him, and wept for him as for a common parent and protector. He conſoled them, however,

* Απεσαυρȣ και περιετειχιζε.

ever, as well as he could, and rode down to the sea, taking with him ten of his friends, and his son, who was now approaching to manhood. Finding some vessels at anchor, he went on board, and arrived safe at Ægium. There he held an assembly, in which it was decreed that Antigonus should be called in, and the citadel surrendered to him. Aratus sent his own son amongst the other hostages; which the Corinthians so much resented, that they plundered his goods, and made a present of his house to Cleomenes.

As Antigonus was now approaching with his army, which consisted of twenty thousand foot, all Macedonians, and of fourteen hundred horse, Aratus went with the Achæan magistrates by sea *, and without being discovered by the enemy, met him at Pegæ; though he placed no great confidence in Antigonus, and distrusted the Macedonians. For he knew that his greatness had been owing to the mischiefs he had done them, and that he had first risen to the direction of affairs in consequence of his hatred to old Antigonus. But seeing an indispensable necessity before him, such an occasion as those who seemed to command are forced to obey, he faced the danger. When Antigonus was told that Aratus was come in person, he gave the rest a common welcome, but received him in the most honourable manner; and finding him upon trial to be a man of probity and prudence, took him into his most intimate friendship. For Aratus was not only serviceable to the king in great affairs, but in the hours of leisure his most agreeable companion. Antigonus, therefore, though young, perceiving in him such a temper, and such other qualities as fitted him for a prince's friendship, preferred him not only to the rest of the Achæans, but even to the Macedonians that were about him, and continued to employ him in every affair of consequence. Thus the thing which the gods announced by the entrails of one of the victims, was accomplished. For it is said, that when Aratus was sacrificing not long before, there appeared in the liver two gall-bladders enclosed in the same caul; upon which, the diviner declared, that two enemies, who appeared the most irreconcileable, would soon be united in the strictest friendship. Aratus then took little notice of the saying, for he never put much faith in victims, nor indeed in pre-

* The magistrates called *Demiurgi*. See an account of them before.

predictions from any thing elſe, but uſed to depend upon his reaſon. Some time after, however, when the war went on ſucceſsfully, Antigonus made an entertainment at Corinth, at which, though there was a numerous company, he placed Aratus next above him. They had not ſat long before Antigonus called for a cloak. At the ſame time he aſked Aratus, "Whether he did not think it very cold," and he anſwered, "It was extremely cold." The king then deſired him to ſit nearer, and the ſervants who brought the cloak, put it over the ſhoulders of both. This putting Aratus in mind of the victim, he informed the king both of the ſign and the prediction. But this happened long after the time that we are upon.

While they were at Pegæ, they took oaths of mutual fidelity, and then marched againſt the enemy. There were ſeveral actions under the walls of Corinth, in which Cleomenes had fortified himſelf ſtrongly, and the Corinthians defended the place with great vigour.

In the mean time, Ariſtotle, a citizen of Argos, and friend of Aratus, ſent an agent to him privately, with an offer of bringing that city to declare for him, if he would go thither in perſon with ſome troops. Aratus having acquainted Antigonus with this ſcheme, embarked fifteen hundred men, and ſailed immediately with them from the Iſthmus to Epidaurus. But the people of Argos, without waiting for his arrival, had attacked the troops of Cleomenes, and ſhut them up in the citadel. Cleomenes having notice of this, and fearing that the enemy, if they were in poſſeſſion of Argos, might cut off his retreat to Lacedæmon, left his poſt before the citadel of Corinth the ſame night, and marched to the ſuccour of his men. He reached it before Aratus, and gained ſome advantage over the enemy; but Aratus arriving ſoon after, and the king appearing with his army, Cleomenes retired to Mantinea.

Upon this, all the cities joined the Achæans again. Antigonus made himſelf maſter of the citadel of Corinth; and the Argives having appointed Aratus their general, he perſuaded them to give Antigonus the eſtates of the late tyrants and all the traitors. That people put Ariſtomachus to the torture at Cenchreæ *, and afterwards drowned

* Plutarch ſeems here to have followed Phylarchus. Polybius tells us that Ariſtomachus deſerved greater puniſhments than he ſuffered, not

drowned him in the ſea. Aratus was much cenſured on this occaſion, for permitting a man to ſuffer unjuſtly, who was not of a bad character, with whom he formerly had connections, and who, at his perſuaſion, had abdicated the ſupreme power, and brought Argos to unite itſelf to the Achæan league. There were other charges againſt Aratus, namely, that, at his inſtigation, the Achæans had given the city of Corinth to Antigonus, as if it had been no more than an ordinary village; that they had ſuffered him to pillage Orchomenus, and place in it a Macedonian garriſon; that they had made a decree that their community ſhould not ſend a letter or an embaſſy to any other king, without the conſent of Antigonus; that they were forced to maintain and pay the Macedonians; and that they had ſacrifices, libations, and games, in honour of Antigonus,—the fellow-citizens of Aratus ſetting the example, and receiving Antigonus into their city, on which occaſion Aratus entertained him in his houſe. For all theſe things they blamed Aratus, not conſidering that when he had once put the reins in the hands of that prince, he was neceſſarily carried along with the tide of regal power; no longer maſter of any thing but his tongue, and it was dangerous to uſe that with freedom. For he was viſibly concerned at many circumſtances of the king's conduct, particularly with reſpect to the ſtatues. Antigonus erected anew thoſe of the tyrants which Aratus had pulled down, and demoliſhed thoſe he had ſet up in memory of the brave men that ſurpriſed the citadel of Corinth. That of Aratus only was ſpared, notwithſtanding his interceſſion for the reſt. In the affair of Mantinea *, too, the behaviour of the Achæans was not ſuitable to the Grecian humanity: for having conquered it by means of Antigonus, they put the principal

not only for his extreme cruelty when tyrant of Argos, but alſo for his abandoning the Achæans in their diſtreſs, and declaring for their enemies.

* The Mantineans had applied to the Achæans for a garriſon to defend them againſt the Lacedæmonians. In compliance with their requeſt, the Achæans ſent them three hundred of their own citizens, and two hundred mercenaries. But the Mantineans ſoon after changing their minds, in the moſt perfidious manner maſſacred that garriſon. They deſerved, therefore, all that they are here ſaid to have ſuffered; but Polybius makes no mention of the principal inhabitants being put to death; he only ſays, their goods were plundered, and ſome of the people ſold for ſlaves.

principal of the inhabitants to the ſword; ſome of the reſt they ſold, or ſent in fetters to Macedonia; and they made ſlaves of the women and children. Of the money thus raiſed, they divided a third part amongſt themſelves, and gave the reſt to the Macedonians. But this had its excuſe in the law of repriſals. For, however ſhocking it may appear for men to ſacrifice to their anger thoſe of their own nation and kindred, yet in neceſſity, as Simonides ſays, it ſeems rather a proper alleviation, than a hardſhip, to give relief to a mind inflamed and aching with reſentment. But as to what Aratus did afterwards with reſpect to Mantinea, it is impoſſible to juſtify him upon a plea either of propriety or neceſſity. For Antigonus having made a preſent of that city to the Argives, they reſolved to repeople it, and appointed Aratus to ſee it done; in virtue of which commiſſion, as well as that of general, he decreed that it ſhould no more be called Mantinea, but Antigonea, which name it ſtill bears. Thus, by his means Mantinea, *the amiable Mantinea*, as Homer calls it, was no more; and in the place of it we have a city which took its name from the man who ruined its inhabitants.

Some time after this, Cleomenes being overthrown in a great battle near Sellaſia *, quitted Sparta, and ſailed to Egypt. As for Antigonus, after the kindeſt and moſt honourable behaviour to Aratus, he returned to Macedonia. In his ſickneſs there, which happened ſoon after his arrival, he ſent Philip, then very young, but already declared his ſucceſſor, into Peloponneſus; having firſt inſtructed him above all things to give attention to Aratus, and through him to treat with the cities, and make himſelf known to the Achæans. Aratus received him with great

* Cleomenes had entrenched himſelf ſo ſtrongly near Sellaſia, in a narrow paſs between the mountains Eva and Olympus, that Antigonus did not think proper to attack him there. It is not eaſy to comprehend what could induce Cleomenes to come out of theſe entrenchments, and riſk a pitched battle. His troops were not ſo numerous as the enemy's by one third; and he was ſupplied with all ſorts of proviſions from Sparta: What then could make him hazard a battle, the event of which was to decide the fate of Lacedæmon? Polybius, indeed, ſeems to inſinuate the cauſe of this proceeding; for he tells us, that Ptolemy, king of Egypt, who had promiſed to aſſiſt him in this war, acquainted him that he was not in a condition to make good his engagements. And as Cleomenes did not chooſe to try the other alternative, that of ſuing to Antigonus for a peace, he riſked all upon the event of that day.

great honour, and managed him ſo well, that he returned to Macedonia full of ſentiments of reſpect for his friend, and in the moſt favourable diſpoſition for the intereſts of Greece.

After the death of Antigonus, the Ætolians deſpiſed the inactivity of the Achæans: for, accuſtomed to the protection of foreign arms, and ſheltering themſelves under the Macedonian power, they ſunk into a ſtate of idleneſs and diſorder. This gave the Ætolians room to attempt a footing in Peloponneſus. By the way they made ſome booty in the country about Patræ and Dyme, and then proceeded to Meſſene, and laid waſte its territories. Aratus was incenſed at this inſolence, but he perceived that Timoxenus, who was then general, took ſlow and dilatory meaſures, becauſe his year was almoſt expired. Therefore, as he was to ſucceed to the command, he anticipated his commiſſion by five days, for the ſake of aſſiſting the Meſſenians. He aſſembled the Achæans, but they had now neither exerciſe nor courage to enable them to maintain the combat, and conſequently he was beaten in a battle which he fought at Caphyæ. Being accuſed of having ventured to much on this occaſion *, he became afterwards ſo cold, and ſo far abandoned his hopes for the public, as to neglect the opportunities which the Ætolians gave him, and ſuffered them to roam about Peloponneſus, in a bacchanalian manner, committing all the exceſſes that inſolence could ſuggeſt.

The

* Aratus was accuſed in the aſſembly, firſt, of having taken the command upon him before his time. In the next place, he was blamed for having diſmiſſed the Achæan troops, while the Ætolians were ſtill in the heart of Peloponneſus. The third article againſt him was, his venturing a battle with ſo few troops, when he might have made, with great eaſe, a ſafe retreat to the neighbouring towns, and there reinforced his army. The laſt and heavieſt charge againſt him was, that after he had reſolved to give the enemy battle, he did not, in the whole action, take one ſtep that became a general of any experience. For he ſent the cavalry and light-armed foot to attack the enemy's rear, after their front had gained the advantage; whereas he ought to have encountered the front at firſt with the advantage of having them on the declivity; in which caſe his heavy-armed infantry would have done him great ſervice. However, he endeavoured to prove that the loſe of the battle was not his fault; adding, that if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able general, he aſked pardon; and hoped that, in regard of his paſt ſervices, they would not cenſure him with rigour. This ſubmiſſion of his changed the minds of the whole aſſembly, and the people began to vent their rage upon his accuſers.

The Achæans were now obliged to ſtretch out their hands again towards Macedonia, and brought Philip to interfere in the affairs of Greece. They knew the regard he had for Aratus, and the confidence he placed in him, and hoped on that account to find him tractable and eaſy in all their affairs. But the king now firſt began to liſten to Apelles, Megalacus, and other courtiers, who endeavoured to darken the character of Aratus, and prevailed upon him to ſupport the contrary party, by which means Eperatus was elected general of the Achæans. Eperatus, however, ſoon fell into the greateſt contempt amongſt them, and as Aratus would not give any attention to their concerns, nothing went well. Philip finding that he had committed a capital error, turned again to Aratus, and gave himſelf up entirely to his direction. As his affairs now proſpered, and his power and reputation grew under the culture of Aratus, he depended entirely on him for the farther increaſe of both. Indeed, it was evident to all the world that Aratus had excellent talents, not only for guiding a commonwealth, but a kingdom too. For there appeared a tincture of his principles and manners in all the conduct of this young prince. Thus the moderation with which he treated the Spartans * after they had offended him, his engaging behaviour to the Cretans, by which he gained the whole iſland in a few days, and the glorious ſucceſs of his expedition againſt the Ætolians, gained Philip the honour of knowing how to follow good counſel, and Aratus that of being able to give it.

On this account the courtiers envied him ſtill more; and as they found that their private engines of calumny availed nothing, they began to try open battery, reviling and inſulting him at table with the utmoſt effrontery and loweſt abuſe. Nay, once they threw ſtones at him, as he was retiring from ſupper to his tent. Philip, incenſed at

* The Spartans had killed one of their *Ephori*, and ſome others of their citizens who were in the intereſt of Philip; and ſome of his counſellors adviſed him to revenge the affront with rigour. But he ſaid, that, as the Spartans now belonged to the Achæan league, they were accountable to it; and that it ill became him to treat them with ſeverity, who were his allies, when his predeceſſor had extended his clemency to them, though enemies.

at ſuch outrage, fined them twenty talents, and, upon their proceeding to diſturb and embroil his affairs, put them to death.

But afterwards he was carried ſo high by the flow of proſperity, as to diſcover many diſorderly paſſions. The native badneſs of his diſpoſition broke through the veil he had put over it, and by degrees his real character appeared. In the firſt place he greatly injured young Aratus by corrupting his wife; and the commerce was a long time ſecret, becauſe he lived under his roof, where he had been received under the ſanction of hoſpitality. In the next place, he diſcovered a ſtrong averſion to commonwealths, and to the cities that were under that form of government. It was eaſy to be ſeen, too, that he wanted to ſhake off Aratus. The firſt ſuſpicion of his intentions aroſe from his behaviour with reſpect to the Meſſenians. There were two factions amongſt them which had raiſed a ſedition in the city. Aratus went to reconcile them; but Philip getting to the place a day before him, added ſtings to their mutual reſentments. On the one hand, he called the magiſtrates privately, and aſked them whether they had not laws to reſtrain the rabble; and on the other, he aſked the demagogues whether they had not hands to defend them againſt tyrants. The magiſtrates, thus encouraged, attacked the chiefs of the people, and they in their turn came with ſuperior numbers, and killed the magiſtrates, with near two hundred more of their party.

After Philip had engaged in theſe deteſtable practices, which exaſperated the Meſſanians ſtill more againſt each other, Aratus, when he arrived, made no ſecret of his reſentment, nor did he reſtrain his ſon in the ſevere and diſparaging things he ſaid to Philip. The young man had once a particular attachment to Philip, which in thoſe days they diſtinguiſhed by the name of love; but, on this occaſion, he ſcrupled not to tell him, "That after ſuch a baſe "action, inſtead of appearing agreeable, he was the moſt "deformed of human kind."

Philip made no anſwer, though anger evidently was working in his boſom, and he often muttered to himſelf while the other was ſpeaking. However, he pretended to bear it with great calmneſs, and affecting to appear the man of ſubdued temper and refined manners, gave the elder Aratus his hand, and took him from the theatre to

to the castle of Ithome *, under pretence of sacrificing to Jupiter and visiting the place. This fort, which is as strong as the citadel of Corinth, were it garrisoned, would greatly annoy the neighbouring country, and be almost impregnable. After Philip had offered his sacrifice there, and the diviner came to shew him the entrails of the ox, he took them in both hands, and shewed them to Aratus and Demetrius of Phariæ, sometimes turning them to one, and sometimes to the other, and asking them, "What "they saw in the entrails of the victim; whether they "warned him to keep this citadel, or to restore it to the "Messenians?" Demetrius smiled and said, "If you "have the soul of a diviner, you will restore it; but, "if that of a king, you will hold the bull by both his "horns." By which he hinted that he must have Peloponnesus entirely in subjection, if he added Ithome to the citadel of Corinth. Aratus was a long time silent, but upon Philip's pressing him to declare his opinion, he said, "There are may mountains of great strength in Crete, "many castles in Bœotia and Phocis in lofty situations, "and many impregnable places in Acarnania, both on the "coast and within land. You have seized none of these, "and yet they all pay you a voluntary obedience. Robbers, indeed, take to rocks and precipices for security; "but for a king there is no such fortress as honour and "humanity. These are the things that have opened to "you the Cretan sea, these have unbarred the gates of "Peloponnesus. In short, by these it is that, at so "early a period in life, you are become general of the "one, and sovereign of the other." Whilst he was yet speaking, Philip returned the entrails to the diviner, and taking Aratus by the hand, drew him along, and said, "Come on then, let us go as we came;" intimating that he had over-ruled him, and deprived him of such an acquisition as the city would have been.

From this time Aratus began to withdraw from court, and by degrees to give up all correspondence with Philip. He refused also to accompany him in his expedition into Epirus, though applied to for that purpose; choosing to stay at home, lest he should share in the disrepute of his actions.



* In the printed text it is *Ithomata*, which agrees with the name this fort has in Polybius; but one of the manuscripts gives us *Ithome*, which is the name Strabo gives it.

actions. But, after Philip had loſt his fleet with great diſgrace in the Roman war, and nothing ſucceeded to his wiſh, he returned to Peloponneſus, and tried once more what art could do to impoſe upon the Meſſenians. When he found that his deſigns were diſcovered, he had recourſe to open hoſtilities, and ravaged their country. Aratus then ſaw all his meanneſs, and broke with him entirely. By this time, too, he perceived that he had diſhonoured his ſon's bed; but though the injury lay heavy on him, he concealed it from his ſon, becauſe he could only inform him that he was abuſed, without being able to help him to the means of revenge. There ſeemed to be a great and unnatural change in Philip, who, of a mild and ſober young prince, became a libidinous and cruel tyrant: but in fact it was not a change of diſpoſition, it was only diſcovering, in a time of full ſecurity, the vices which his fears had long concealed. That his regard for Aratus had originally a great mixture of fear and reverence, appeared even in the method he took to deſtroy him. For though he was very deſirous of effecting that cruel purpoſe, becauſe he neither looked upon himſelf as an abſolute prince, or a king, or even a freeman, while Aratus lived, yet he would not attempt any thing againſt him in the way of open force, but deſired Phaurion, one of his friends and generals, to take him off in a private manner, in his abſence. At the ſame time he recommended poiſon. That officer accordingly having formed an acquaintance with him, gave him a doſe, not of a ſharp or violent kind, but ſuch a one as cauſes lingering heats and a ſlight cough, and gradually brings the body to decay. Aratus was not ignorant of the cauſe of his diſorder, but knowing that it availed nothing to diſcover it to the world, he bore it quietly and in ſilence, as if it had been an ordinary diſtemper. Indeed, when one of his friends came to viſit him in his chamber, and expreſſed his ſurpriſe at ſeeing him ſpit blood, he ſaid, " Such, Cephalon, are the fruits of royal friend-" ſhip."

Thus died Aratus at Ægium, after he had been ſeventeen times general of the Achæans. That people were deſirous of having him buried there, and would have thought it an honour to give him a magnificent funeral, and a monument worthy of his life and character. But the Sicyonians conſidered it as a misfortune to have him interred any where but amongſt them, and therefore perſuaded

ſuaded the Achæans to leave the diſpoſal of the body entirely to them. As there was an ancient law that had been obſerved with religious care, againſt burying any perſon within their walls, and they were afraid to tranſgreſs it on this occaſion, they ſent to inquire of the prieſteſs of Apollo at Delphi, and ſhe returned this anſwer:

> Seek you what funeral honours you ſhall pay
> To your departed prince, the ſmall reward
> For liberty reſtor'd, and glory won?
> Bid Sicyon, fearleſs, rear the ſacred tomb.
> For the vile tongue that dares with impious breath
> Offend Aratus, blaſts the face of Nature,
> Pours horror on the earth, and ſeas and ſkies.

This oracle gave great joy to all the Achæans, particularly the people of Sicyon. They changed the day of mourning into a feſtival, and adorning themſelves with garlands and white robes, brought the corpſe with ſongs and dances from Ægium to Sicyon. There they ſelected the moſt conſpicuous ground, and interred him as the founder and deliverer of their city. The place is ſtill called *Aratium*; and there they offer two yearly ſacrifices; the one on the fifth of the month Dæſius, (the Athenians call it Antheſterion *) which was the day he delivered the city from the yoke of tyrants, and on which account they call the feſtival *Soteria*; the other on his birth-day. The firſt ſacrifice was offered by the prieſt of Jupiter *the Preſerver*, and the ſecond by the ſon of Aratus, who, on that occaſion, wore a girdle †, not entirely white, but half purple. The muſic was ſung to the harp by the choir that belonged to the theatre. The proceſſion was led up by the maſter of the *Gymnaſium*, at the head of the boys and young men; the ſenate followed, crowned with flowers, and ſuch of the other citizens as choſe to attend. Some ſmall marks of the ceremonies obſerved on thoſe days ſtill remain, but the greateſt part is worn out by time and other circumſtances.

Such was the life and character that hiſtory has given us of the elder Aratus. And as to the younger, Philip, who was naturally wicked, and delighted to add inſolence to cruelty, gave him potions, not of the deadly kind, but ſuch



* February.

† Στρόφιον ſignifies alſo a *fillet*.

ſuch as deprived him of his reaſon; inſomuch that he took up inclinations that were ſhocking and monſtrous, and delighted in things that not only diſhonoured, but deſtroyed him. Death, therefore, which took him in the flower of his age, was conſidered, not as a misfortune, but a deliverance. The vengeance, however, of Jupiter, the patron of hoſpitality and friendſhip, viſited Philip for his breach of both, and purſued him through life. For he was beaten by the Romans, and forced to yield himſelf to their diſcretion. In conſequence of which, he was ſtripped of all the provinces he had conquered, gave up all his ſhips, except five, obliged himſelf to pay a thouſand talents, and deliver his ſon as a hoſtage. He even held Macedonia and its dependencies only at the mercy of the conquerors. Amidſt all theſe misfortunes, he was poſſeſſed only of one bleſſing, a ſon of ſuperior virtue, and him he put to death, in his envy and jealouſy of the honours the Romans paid him. He left his crown to his other ſon Perſeus, who was believed not to be his, but a ſuppoſitious child, born of a ſempſtreſs named Gnathænium. It was over him that Paulus Æmilius triumphed, and in him ended the royal race of Antigonus; whereas the poſterity of Aratus remained to our days, and ſtill continues in Sicyon and Pellene.

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# GALBA.

IPHICRATES, the Athenian general, thought that a ſoldier of fortune ſhould have an attachment both to money and pleaſure, that his paſſions might put him upon fighting with more boldneſs for a ſupply. But moſt others are of opinion, that the main body of an army, like the healthy natural body, ſhould have no motion of its own, but be entirely guided by the head. Hence Paulus Æmilius, when he found his army in Macedonia talkative, buſy, and ready to direct their general, is ſaid to have given orders, "That each ſhould keep his hand fit for action, and "his ſword ſharp, and leave the reſt to him." And Plato perceiving that the beſt general cannot undertake any thing with ſucceſs, unleſs his troops are ſober, and perfectly united to ſupport him, concluded, that to know how to obey, required as generous a diſpoſition, and as rational an education, as to know how to command; for theſe advan-

tages

tages would correct the violence and impetuosity of the soldier with the mildness and humanity of the philosopher. Amongst other fatal examples, what happened amongst the Romans after the death of Nero, is sufficient to shew, that nothing is more dreadful than an undisciplined army actuated only by the impulse of their own ferocity. Demades seeing the wild and violent motions of the Macedonian army after the death of Alexander, compared it to the Cyclops *, after his eye was put out. But the Roman empire more resembled the extravagant passions and ravings of the Titans, which the poets tell us of, when it was torn in pieces by rebellion, and turned its arms against itself; not so much through the ambition of the emperors, as the avarice and licentiousness of the soldiers, who drove out one emperor by another †.

Dionysius the Sicilian, speaking of Alexander of Pheræ, who reigned in Thessaly only ten months, and then was slain, called him, in derision of the sudden change, a theatrical tyrant. But the palace of the Cæsars received four emperors in a less space of time, one entering, and another making his exit, as if they had only been acting a part upon a stage. The Romans, indeed, had one consolation amidst their misfortunes, that they needed no other revenge upon the authors of them, than to see them destroy each other; and with the greatest justice of all fell the first, who corrupted the army, and taught them to expect so much upon the change of emperor; thus dishonouring a glorious action by mercenary considerations, and turning the revolt from Nero into treason. For Nymphidius Sabinus, who, as we observed before ‡, was joined in commission with Tigellinus, as captain of the prætorian cohorts, after Nero's affairs were in a desperate state, and it was plain that he intended to retire into Egypt, persuaded the army, as if Nero had already abdicated, to declare Galba emperor, promising every soldier of the prætorian cohorts seven thousand five hundred *drachmas*, and the troops that were quartered in the provinces twelve hundred and fifty *drachmas* a man: a sum which it was impossible to collect without doing infinitely more mischief to the empire than Nero had done in his whole reign.

 This

* Polyphemus.
† In the original it is, *as one nail is driven out by another.*
‡ In the life of Nero, which is lost.

This proved the immediate ruin of Nero, and ſoon after deſtroyed Galba himſelf. They deſerted Nero in hopes of receiving the money, and deſpatched Galba becauſe they did not receive it. Afterwards they ſought for another who might pay them that ſum, but they ruined themſelves by their rebellions and treaſons, without gaining what they had been made to expect. To give a complete and exact account of the affairs of thoſe times, belongs to the profeſſed hiſtorian. It is, however, in my province to lay before the reader the moſt remarkable circumſtances in the lives of the Cæſars.

It is an acknowledged truth, that Sulpitius Galba was the richeſt private man that ever roſe to the imperial dignity. But though his extraction was of the nobleſt, from the family of the Servii, yet he thought it a greater honour to be related to Quintus Catulus Capitolinus, who was the firſt man in his time for virtue and reputation, though he voluntarily left to others the pre-eminence in power. He was alſo related to Livia the wife of Auguſtus, and it was by her intereſt that he was raiſed from the office he had in the palace to the dignity of conſul. It is ſaid that he acquitted him of his commiſſion in Germany with honour; and that he gained more reputation than moſt commanders, during his proconſulate in Africa. But his ſimple parſimonious way of living paſſed for avarice in an emperor; and the pride he took in economy and ſtrict temperance was out of character.

He was ſent governor into Spain by Nero, before that emperor had learned to fear ſuch of the citizens as had great authority in Rome. Beſides, the mildneſs of his temper, and his advanced time of life, promiſed a cautious and prudent conduct. The emperor's receivers *, a moſt abandoned ſet of men, haraſſed the provinces in the moſt cruel manner. Galba could not aſſiſt them againſt their perſecutors, but his concern for their misfortunes, which appeared not leſs than if he had been a ſufferer himſelf, afforded them ſome conſolation, even while they were condemned and ſold for ſlaves. Many ſongs were made upon Nero, and ſung every where; and as Galba did not endeavour to ſuppreſs them, or join the receiver of the revenues in their reſentment, that was a circum-ſtance

* Επιτροποι, *procuratores*; they had full powers to collect the revenues, and ſcrupled no acts of oppreſſion in the courſe of their proceedings.

ſtance which endeared him ſtill more to the natives. For by this time he had contracted a friendſhip with them, having long been their governor. He had borne that commiſſion eight years, when Junius Vindex, who commanded in Gaul, revolted againſt Nero. It is ſaid, that, before this rebellion broke out, Galba had intimations of it in letters from Vindex; but he neither countenanced nor diſcovered it, as the governors of other provinces did, who ſent the letters they had received to Nero, and by that means ruined the project, as far as was in their power. Yet thoſe ſame governors afterwards joining in the conſpiracy againſt their prince, ſhewed that they could betray not only Vindex, but themſelves.

But after Vindex had openly commenced hoſtilities, he wrote to Galba, deſiring him " To accept the imperial " dignity, and give a head to the ſtrong Gallic body " which ſo much wanted one; which had no leſs than a " hundred thouſand men in arms, and was able to raiſe " a much greater number."

Galba then called a council of his friends. Some of them adviſed him to wait and ſee what motions there might be in Rome, or inclinations for a change. But Titus Vinius, captain of one of the prætorian cohorts, ſaid, " What room is there, Galba, for deliberation? " To inquire whether we ſhall continue faithful to Nero, " is to have revolted already. There is no medium. We " muſt either accept the friendſhip of Vindex, as if Nero " was our declared enemy, or accuſe and fight Vindex, " becauſe he deſires that the Romans ſhould have Galba " for their emperor, rather than Nero for their tyrant." Upon this, Galba, by an edict, fixed a day for enfranchiſing all who ſhould preſent themſelves. The report of this ſoon drew together a multitude of people who were deſirous of a change, and he had no ſooner mounted the tribunal, than with one voice, they declared him emperor. He did not immediately accept the title, but accuſed Nero of great crimes, and lamented the fate of many Romans of great diſtinction, whom he had barbarouſly ſlain: After which he declared, " That he would ſerve his country with " his beſt abilities, not as Cæſar or emperor, but as lieutenant to the ſenate and people of Rome *."

That

* Dio Caſſius informs us, that this declaration was made nine months and thirteen days before Galba's death, and conſequently on the

That it was a juſt and rational ſcheme which Vindex adopted in calling Galba to the empire, there needs no better proof than Nero himſelf. For though he pretended to look upon the commotions in Gaul as nothing, yet when he received the news of Galba's revolt, which he happened to do juſt after he had bathed, and was ſat down to ſupper, in his madneſs he overturned the table. However, when the ſenate had declared Galba an enemy to his country, he affected to deſpiſe the danger, and attempting to be merry upon it, ſaid to his friends, "I have long wanted a pretence to raiſe money, and this will furniſh me with an excellent one. The Gauls, when I have conquered them, will be a fine booty, and, in the mean time, I will ſeize the eſtate of Galba, ſince he is a declared enemy, and diſpoſe of it as I think fit." Accordingly he gave directions that Galba's eſtate ſhould be ſold; which Galba no ſooner heard of, than he expoſed to ſale all that belonged to Nero in Spain, and more readily found purchaſers.

The revolt from Nero ſoon became general; and the governors of provinces declared for Galba: Only Clodius Macer in Africa, and Virginius Rufus in Germany, ſtood out and acted for themſelves, but upon different motives. Clodius being conſcious to himſelf of much rapine and many murders, to which his avarice and cruelty had prompted him, was in a fluctuating ſtate, and could not take his reſolution either to aſſume or reject the imperial title. And Virginius, who commanded ſome of the beſt legions in the empire, and had been often preſſed by them to take the title of emperor, declared, "That he would neither take it himſelf, nor ſuffer it to be given to any other, but the perſon whom the ſenate ſhould name."

Galba was not a little alarmed at this at firſt. But after the forces of Virginius and Vindex had overpowered them, like charioteers no longer able to guide the reins, and forced them to fight, Vindex loſt twenty thouſand Gauls in the battle, and then deſpatched himſelf. A report was then current, that the victorious army, in conſequence of ſo great an advantage, would inſiſt that Virginius ſhould accept the imperial dignity, and that if he refuſed it, they would turn again to Nero. This put Galba

the third of April; for he was aſſaſſinated on the fifteenth of January in the following year.

Galba in a great consternation, and he wrote letters to Virginius exhorting him to act in concert with him, for preserving the empire and liberty of the Romans. After which, he retired with his friends to Colonia, a city in Spain, and there spent some time, rather in repenting of what he had done, and wishing for the life of ease and leisure, to which he had so long been accustomed, than taking any of the necessary steps for his promotion.

It was now the beginning of summer, when one evening, a little before night, one of Galba's freedmen, a native of Sicily, arrived in seven days from Rome. Being told that Galba was retired to rest, he ran up to his chamber, and having opened it, in spite of the resistance of the chamberlains, informed him, "That as Nero did not appear, "though he was living at that time, the army first, and "then the people and senate of Rome, had declared "Galba emperor; and, not long after, news was brought "that Nero was dead. He added, that he was not satisfied with the report, but went and saw the dead body "of the tyrant, before he would set out." Galba was greatly elevated by this intelligence; and he encouraged the multitudes that soon attended at the door by communicating it to them, though the expedition with which it was brought appeared incredible. But, two days after, Titus Vinius, with many others, arrived from the camp, and brought an account of all the proceedings of the senate. Vinius * was promoted to an honourable employment; while the freedman had his name changed from Icelus to Marcianus, was honoured with the privilege of wearing the gold ring, and had more attention paid him than any of the other freedmen.

Meantime, at Rome, Nymphidius Sabinus got the administration into his hands, not by slow and insensible steps, but with the greatest celerity. He knew that Galba, on account of his great age, being now seventy-three, was scarce able to make the journey to Rome, though carried in a litter. Besides, the forces there had long been inclined to serve him, and now they depended upon

* Vinius was of a prætorian family, and had behaved with honour as governor of Gallia Narbonensis: but when he became the favourite and first minister of the emperor of Rome, he soon made his master obnoxious to the people, and ruined himself. The truth is, he was naturally of a bad disposition, and a man of no principles.

upon him only, conſidering him as their benefactor on account of the large gratuity he had promiſed, and Galba as their debtor. He therefore immediately commanded his colleague Tigellinus to give up his ſword. He made great entertainments, at which he received perſons of conſular dignity, and ſuch as had commanded armies and provinces; yet he gave the invitation in the name of Galba. He likewiſe inſtructed many of the ſoldiers to ſuggeſt it to the prætorian cohorts, that they ſhould ſend a meſſage to Galba, demanding that Nymphidius ſhould be always their captain, and without a colleague. The readineſs the ſenate expreſſed to add to his honour and authority, in calling him their benefactor, in going daily to pay their reſpects at his gate, and deſiring that he would take upon him to propoſe and confirm every decree, brought him to a much higher pitch of inſolence; inſomuch, that, in a little time, he became not only obnoxious, but formidable to the very perſons that paid their court to him. When the conſuls had charged the public meſſengers with the decrees to be carried to the emperor, and had ſealed the inſtruments with their ſeal, in order that the magiſtrates of the towns through which they were to paſs, ſeeing their authority, might furniſh them with carriages at every different ſtage for the great expedition, he reſented it, that they had made not uſe of his ſeal, and employed his men to carry the deſpatches. It is ſaid that he even had it under conſideration whether he ſhould not puniſh the conſuls; but upon their apologizing and begging pardon for the affront, he was appeaſed. To ingratiate himſelf with the people, he did not hinder them from deſpatching by torture ſuch of Nero's creatures as fell into their hands. A gladiator, named Spicillus, was put under the ſtatues of Nero, and dragged about with them in the *forum* till he died: Aponius, one of the informers, was extended on the ground, and waggons, loaded with ſtones, driven over him: They tore many others in pieces, and ſome who were entirely innocent. So that Mauriſcus, who had not only the character of one of the beſt men in Rome, but really deſerved it, ſaid one day to the ſenate, "He was afraid they ſhould ſoon regret the loſs of "Nero."

Nymphidius, thus advancing in his hopes, was not at all diſpleaſed at being called the ſon of Caius Cæſar, who reigned after Tiberius. It ſeems that prince, in his youth,

youth, had ſome commerce with his mother, who was daughter of Caliſtus, one of Cæſar's freedmen, by a ſempſtreſs, and who was not wanting in perſonal charms. But it is evident that the connexion Caius had with her, was after the birth of Nymphidius; and it was believed that he was the ſon of Martianus the gladiator, whom Nymphidia fell in love with on account of his reputation in his way; beſides, his reſemblance to the gladiator gave a ſanction to that opinion. Be that as it may, he acknowledged himſelf the ſon of Nymphidia, and yet inſiſted that he was the only perſon who depoſed Nero. Not content with the honours and emoluments he enjoyed on that account, * * * * * * *
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he aſpired to the imperial ſeat, and had his engines privately at work in Rome, in which he employed his friends, with ſome intriguing women, and ſome men of conſular rank. He ſent alſo Gellianus, one of his friends, into Spain, to act as a ſpy upon Galba.

After the death of Nero, all things went for Galba according to his wiſh; only the uncertainty what part Virginius Rufus would act, gave him ſome uneaſineſs. Virginius commanded a powerful army, which had already conquered Vindex; and he held in ſubjection a very conſiderable part of the Roman empire; for he was maſter not only of Germany, but Gaul, which was in great agitations, and ripe for a revolt. Galba, therefore, was apprehenſive that he would liſten to thoſe who offered him the imperial purple. Indeed, there was not an officer of greater name or reputation than Virginius, nor one who had more weight in the affairs of thoſe times; for he had delivered the empire both from tyranny and from a Gallic war. He abode, however, by his firſt reſolution, and reſerved the appointment of emperor for the ſenate. After Nero's death was certainly known, the troops again preſſed hard upon Virginius, and one of the tribunes drew his ſword in the pavilion, and bade him receive either ſovereign power or the ſteel; but the menace had no effect. At laſt, after Fabius Valens, who commanded one legion, had taken the oath of fidelity to Galba, and letters arrived from Rome with an account of the ſenate's decree, he perſuaded his army, though with great difficulty, to acknowledge Galba. The new emperor

ror having ſent Flaccus Hordeonius as his ſucceſſor, he received him in that quality, and delivered up his forces to him. He then went to meet Galba, who was on his journey to Rome, and attended him thither, without finding any marks either of his favour or reſentment. The reaſon of this was, that Galba, on the one hand, conſidered him in too reſpectable a light to offer him any injury; and, on the other hand, the emperor's friends, particularly Titus Vinius, were jealous of the progreſs he might make in his favour. But that officer was not aware, that, while he was preventing his promotion, he was cooperating with his good genius, in withdrawing him from the wars and calamities in which other generals were engaged, and bringing him to a life of tranquillity full of days and peace.

The ambaſſadors which the ſenate ſent to Galba, met him at Narbon, a city of Gaul. There they made their compliments, and adviſed him to ſhew himſelf as ſoon as poſſible to the people of Rome, who was very deſirous to ſee him. He gave them a kind reception, and entertained them in an agreeable manner. But though Nymphidius had ſent him rich veſſels, and other furniture ſuitable to a great prince, which he had taken out of Nero's palace, he made uſe of none of it; every thing was ſerved up in diſhes of his own. This was a circumſtance that did him honour, for it ſhewed him a man of ſuperior ſentiments, and entirely above vanity. Titus Vinius, however, ſoon endeavoured to convince him, that theſe ſuperior ſentiments, this modeſty and ſimplicity of manners, betrayed an ambition for popular applauſe, which real greatneſs of mind diſdains *; by which argument he prevailed with him to uſe Nero's riches, and ſhew all the imperial magnificence at his entertainments. Thus the old man made it appear that in time he would be entirely governed by Vinius.

No man had a greater paſſion for money than Vinius; nor was any man more addicted to women. While he was

* In the text it is *και κομψοτητα μηγαλην, απαξιουσαν αυτην.* ——As it is difficult to make ſenſe of this, Du Soul ingeniouſly propoſes to read *και* ΑΚΟΜΨΟΤΗΤΑ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ *απαξιουσαν αυτην,* which would be in Engliſh, *and a ruſticity which thinks itſelf unworthy of any thing great.* We may be willing to make ſeveral conjectures of this kind, for the text, in this life, is extremely corrupt.

was yet very young, and making his first campaign under Calvisius Sabinus, he brought the wife of his general, an abandoned prostitute, one night into the camp in a soldier's habit, and lay with her in that part of it which the Romans call the *Principia*. For this, Caius Cæsar put him in prison; but he was released upon the death of that prince. Afterwards, happening to sup with Claudius Cæsar, he stole a silver cup. The emperor being informed of it, invited him the following evening, but ordered the attendants to serve him with nothing but earthen vessels. This moderation of the emperor seemed to shew that the theft was deserving only of ridicule, and not serious resentment: But what he did afterwards, when he had Galba and his revenues at command, served partly as the cause, and partly as the pretence, for many events of the most tragical kind.

Nymphidius, upon the return of Gellianus, whom he had sent as a spy upon Galba, was informed that Cornelius Laco was appointed to the command of the guards and of the palace, and that all the power would be in the hands of Vinius. This distressed him exceedingly, as he had no opportunity to attend the emperor, or speak to him in private; for his intentions were suspected, and all were on their guard. In this perplexity, he assembled the officers of the prætorian cohorts, and told them, that "Galba was indeed an old man of mild and moderate "sentiments; but that, instead of using his own judg"ment, he was entirely directed by Vinius and Laco, "who made a bad use of their power. It is our business, "therefore," continued he, "before they insensibly esta"blish themselves, and become sole masters, as Tigel"linus was, to send ambassadors to the emperor in the "name of all the troops, and represent to him, that if he "removes those two counsellors from his person, he will "find a much more agreeable reception amongst the Ro"mans." Nymphyidius perceiving that his officers did not approve the proposal, but thought it absurd and preposterous to dictate the choice of friends to an emperor of his age, as they might have done to a boy who now first tasted power, he adopted another scheme. In hopes of intimidating Galba; he pretended sometimes in his letters, that there were discontents, and dangers of an insurrection in Rome; sometimes, that Clodius Macer had laid an embargo in Africa on the corn ships. One while he

he ſaid, the German legions were in motion, and another while, that there was the ſame rebellious diſpoſition amongſt thoſe in Syria and Judæa. But as Galba did not give much attention or credit to his advices, he reſolved to uſurp the imperial title himſelf before he arrived; though Clodius Celſus, the Antiochian, a ſenſible man, and one of his beſt friends, did all in his power to diſſuade him; and told him plainly, he did not believe there was one family in Rome that would give him the title of Cæſar. Many others, however, made a jeſt of Galba; and Mithridates of Pontus, in particular, making merry with his bald head and wrinkled face, ſaid, "The Ro-"mans think him ſomething extraordinary while he is at "a diſtance, but as ſoon as he arrives, they will con-"ſider it a diſgrace to the times to have ever called him "Cæſar."

It was reſolved, therefore, that Nymphidius ſhould be conducted to the camp at midnight, and proclaimed emperor. But Antonius Honoratus, the firſt tribune, aſſembled in the evening the troops under his command, and blamed both himſelf and them, for changing ſo often in ſo ſhort a time, not in purſuance of the dictates of reaſon, or for making a better choice, but becauſe ſome dæmon puſhed them on from one treaſon to another. "The crimes of "Nero, indeed," ſaid he, "may juſtify our firſt mea-"ſures. But has Galba murdered his own mother, or his "wife? Or has he made you aſhamed of your emperor "by appearing as a fiddler or an actor on a ſtage? Yet "not even theſe things brought us to abandon Nero; but "Nymphidius firſt perſuaded us that he had abandoned "us, and was fled into Egypt. Shall we then ſacrifice "Galba after Nero; and when we have deſtroyed the "relation of Livia, as well as the ſon of Agrippina, ſet "the ſon of Nymphidia on the imperial throne? Or ra-"ther, after having taken vengeance on a deteſtable tyrant "in Nero, ſhall we not ſhew ourſelves good and faithful "guards to Galba?"

Upon this ſpeech of the tribune, all his men acceded to the propoſal. They applied alſo to their fellow-ſoldiers, and prevailed upon moſt of them to return to their allegiance. At the ſame time a loud ſhout was heard in the camp; and Nymphidius either believing (which is the account that ſome give us) that the troops were calling him in order to proclaim him emperor, or elſe haſten-

ing

ing to appeaſe the inſurrection, and fix ſuch as he found wavering, went with lights to the camp; having in his hand a ſpeech compoſed for him by Cingonius Varro, which he had committed to memory, in order to pronounce it to the army. But ſeeing the gates ſhut, and a number of men in arms upon the wall, his confidence abated. However, advancing nearer, he aſked them, "What they "intended to do, and by whoſe command they were under "arms?" They anſwered, one and all, "That they ac-"knowledged no other emperor but Galba." Then pretending to enter into their opinion, he applauded their fidelity, and ordered thoſe that accompanied him to follow his example. The guard opening the gate, and ſuffering him to enter with a few of his people, a javelin was thrown at him, which Septimius, who went before, received upon his ſhield. But, others, drawing their ſwords, he fled, and was purſued into a ſoldier's hut, where they deſpatched him. His body was dragged to the middle of the camp, where they incloſed it with pales, and expoſed it to public view the next day.

Nymphidius being thus taken off, Galba was no ſooner informed of it, than he ordered ſuch of his accomplices as had not already deſpatched themſelves, to be put to death. Amongſt theſe was Cingonius who compoſed the oration, and Mithridates of Pontus. In this the emperor did not proceed according to the laws and cuſtoms of the Romans; nor was it indeed a popular meaſure to inflict capital puniſhment upon perſons of eminence, without any form of trial, though they might deſerve death. For the Romans, deceived, as it uſually happens, by the firſt reports, now expected another kind of government. But what afflicted them moſt, was the order he ſent for the execution of Petronius Turpilianus, a man of conſular dignity, merely becauſe he had been faithful to Nero. There was ſome pretence for taking off Macer in Africa, by means of Trebonianus, and Fonteius in Germany by Valens, becauſe they were in arms, and had forces that he might be afraid of. But there was no reaſon why Turpilianus, a defenceleſs old man, ſhould not have a hearing, at leaſt under a prince who ſhould have preſerved in his actions the moderation he ſo much affected. Such complaints there were againſt Galba on this ſubject.

When

When he was about five-and-twenty furlongs from the city, he found the way ſtopt by a diſorderly parcel of ſeamen, who gathered about him on all ſides *. Theſe were perſons whom Nero had formed into a legion, that they might act as ſoldiers. They now met him on the road to have their eſtabliſhment confirmed, and crowded the emperor ſo much, that he could neither be ſeen nor heard by thoſe who came to wait on him; for they inſiſted, in a clamorous manner, on having legionary colours and quarters aſſigned them. Galba put them off to another time; but they conſidered that as a denial; and ſome of them even drew their ſwords: upon which he ordered the cavalry to fall upon them. They made no reſiſtance, but fled with the utmoſt precipitation, and many of them were killed in their flight. It was conſidered as an inauſpicious circumſtance for Galba to enter the city amidſt ſo much blood and ſlaughter. And thoſe who deſpiſed him before as weak and inactive through age, now looked upon him as an object of fear and horror.

Beſides, while he endeavoured to reform the extravagance and profuſion with which money uſed to be given away by Nero, he miſſed the mark of propriety. When Canus, a celebrated performer on the flute, played to him one evening at court, after expreſſing the higheſt ſatisfaction at the excellence of his muſic, he ordered his purſe to be brought, and taking out a few pieces of gold †, gave them to Canus, telling him, at the ſame time, that this was a gratuity out of his own, not the public money. As for the money which Nero had given to perſons that pleaſed him on the ſtage, or in the *palæſtra*, he inſiſted with great rigour that it ſhould be all returned, except a tenth part. And as perſons of ſuch diſſolute lives, who mind nothing but a proviſion for the day, could produce very little, he cauſed inquiry to be made for all who had bought any thing of them, or received preſents, and obliged them to refund. This affair extending to great numbers

* Dio Caſſius tells us, (lib. lxiv.) that ſeven thouſand of the diſarmed multitude were cut to pieces on the ſpot; and others were committed to priſon, where they lay till the death of Galba.

† Suetonius ſays, Galba gave him five denarii. But at that time there were denarii of gold. That writer adds, that when his table, upon any extraordinary occaſion, was more ſplendidly ſerved than uſual, he could not forbear ſighing, and expreſſing his diſſatisfaction in a manner inconſiſtent with common decency.

numbers of people, and ſeeming to have no end, it reflected diſgrace upon the emperor, and brought the public envy and hatred on Vinius, becauſe he made the emperor ſordid and mean to others, while he pillaged the treaſury himſelf in the moſt inſatiable manner, and took and ſold whatever he thought proper.

In ſhort, as Heſiod ſays,

> Spare not the full caſk, nor, when ſhallow ſtreams
> Declare the bottom near, withdraw your hand.

So Vinius ſeeing Galba old and infirm, drank freely of the favours of fortune, as only beginning, and yet, at the ſame time, drawing to an end *.

But the aged emperor was greatly injured by Vinius, not only through his neglect or miſapplication of things committed to his truſt, but by his condemning or defeating the moſt ſalutary intentions of his maſter. This was the caſe with reſpect to puniſhing Nero's miniſters. Some bad ones, it is true, were put to death, amongſt whom were Elius, Polycletus, Petinus, and Patrobius. The people expreſſed their joy by loud plaudits, when theſe were led through the *forum* to the place of execution, and called it a glorious and holy proceſſion. But both gods and men, they ſaid, demanded the puniſhment of Tigellinus, who ſuggeſted the very worſt meaſures, and taught Nero all his tyranny. That *worthy* miniſter, however, had ſecured himſelf by great preſents to Vinius, which were only earneſts of ſtill greater. Turpilianus, though obnoxious only becauſe he had not betrayed or hated his maſter, on account of his bad qualities, and though guilty of no remarkable crime, was, notwithſtanding, put to death; while the man who had made Nero unfit to live, and, after he had made him ſuch, deſerted and betrayed him, lived and flouriſhed: a proof that there was nothing which Vinius would not ſell, and that no man had reaſon deſpair who had money. For there was no ſight which the people of Rome ſo paſſionately longed for, as that of Tigellinus carried to execution; and in the theatre and the

* Thus, in the court of Galba appeared all the extortions of Nero's reign. They were equally grievous, (ſays Tacitus) but not equally excuſed, in a prince of Galba's years and experience. He had himſelf the greateſt integrity of heart; but as the rapacity and other exceſſes of his miniſters were imputed to him, he was no leſs hated than if he had committed them himſelf.

the *circus* they continually demanded it, till at last the emperor checked them by an edict, importing, that Tigellinus was in a deep consumption, which would destroy him ere long, and that their sovereign intreated them not to turn his government into a tyranny by needless acts of severity.

The people were highly displeased; but the miscreants only laughed at them. Tigellinus offered sacrifice in acknowledgment to the gods for his recovery, and provided a great entertainment; and Vinius rose from the emperor's table, to go and carouse with Tigellinus, accompanied by his daughter, who was a widow. Tigellinus drank to her, and said, "I will make this cup worth two hundred and fifty thousand *drachmas* to you." At the same time he ordered his chief mistress to take off her own necklace and give it her. This was said to be worth a hundred and fifty thousand more.

From this time the most moderate of Galba's proceedings were misrepresented *. For instance, his lenity to the Gauls, who had conspired with Vindex, did not escape censure. For it was believed that they had not gained a remission of tribute and the freedom of Rome from the emperor's indulgence, but that they purchased them of Vinius. Hence the people had a general aversion to Galba's administration. As for the soldiers, though they did not receive what had been promised them, they let it pass, hoping, that, if they had not that gratuity, they should certainly have as much as Nero had given them. But when they began to murmur, and their complaints were brought to Galba, he said, what well became a great prince, "That it was his custom to choose, not "to buy his soldiers." This saying, however, being reported to the troops, filled them with the most deadly and irreconcileable hatred to Galba. For it seemed to them that he not only wanted to deprive them of the gratuity himself, but to set a precedent for future emperors.

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* Though the rest of Galba's conduct was not blameless, yet (according to Suetonius and Zonaras) he kept the soldiers to their duty; he punished with the utmost severity those who, by their false accusations, had occasioned the death of innocent persons; he delivered up to punishment such slaves as had borne witness against their masters; and he recalled those who had been banished by Nero under pretence of treason.

The disaffection to the government that prevailed in Rome was as yet kept secret in some measure, partly because some remaining reverence for the presence of the emperor prevented the flame of sedition from breaking out, and partly for want of an open occasion to attempt a change. But the troops which had served under Virginius, and were now commanded by Flaccus in Germany, thinking they deserved great things for the battle which they fought with Vindex, and finding that they obtained nothing, began to behave in a very refractory manner, and could not be appeased by their officers. Their general himself they utterly despised, as well on account of his inactivity (for he had the gout in a violent manner) as his want of experience in military affairs. One day, at some public games when the tribunes and centurions, according to custom, made vows for the happiness of the emperor, the common soldiers murmured; and when the officers repeated their good wishes, they answered, "If he is worthy."

The legions that were under the command of Tigellinus, behaved with equal insolence; of which Galba's agents wrote him an account. He was now apprehensive that it was not only his age, but his want of children, that brought him into contempt; and therefore he formed a design to adopt some young man of noble birth, and declare him his successor. Marcus Otho was of a family by no means obscure; but, at the same time, he was more remarkable from his infancy for luxury and love of pleasure than most of the Roman youth. And, as Homer often calls Paris, *the husband of the beauteous* Helen, because he had nothing else to distinguish him, so Otho was noted in Rome as the husband of Poppæa. This was the lady whom Nero fell in love with while she was wife to Crispinus; but retaining as yet some respect for his own wife, and some reverence for his mother, he privately employed Otho to solicit her. For Otho's debauchery had recommended him to Nero as a friend and companion, and he had an agreeable way of rallying him upon what he called his avarice and sordid manner of living.

We are told, that one day when Nero was perfuming himself with a very rich essence, he sprinkled a little of it upon Otho. Otho invited the emperor the day following, when suddenly gold and silver pipes opened on all sides of the apartment, and poured out essences for them

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in as much plenty as if it had been water. He applied to Poppæa according to Nero's defire, and firft feduced her for him, with the flattering idea of having an emperor for her lover: After which he perfuaded her to leave her hufband. But when he took her home as his own wife, he was not fo happy in having her, as miferable in the thought of fharing her with another. And Poppæa is faid not to have been difpleafed with this jealoufy: for, it feems, fhe refufed to admit Nero when Otho was abfent; whether it it was that fhe ftudied to keep Nero's appetite from cloying, or whether (as fome fay) fhe did not choofe to receive the emperor as a hufband, but, in her wanton way, took more pleafure in having him approach her as a gallant. Otho's life, therefore, was in great danger on account of that marriage; and it is aftonifhing, that the man who could facrifice his wife and fifter for the fake of Poppæa, fhould afterwards fpare Otho.

But Otho had a friend in Seneca; and it was he who perfuaded Nero to fend him out governor of Lufitania, upon the borders of the ocean. Otho made himfelf agreeable to the inhabitants by his lenity; for he knew that this command was given him only as a more honourable exile *. Upon Galba's revolt, he was the firft governor of a province that came over to him, and he carried with him all the gold and filver veffels he had, to be melted down and coined for his ufe. He likewife prefented him with fuch of his fervants as knew beft how to wait upon an emperor. He behaved to him, indeed, in all refpects with great fidelity; and it appeared from the fpecimen he gave, that there was no department in the government for which he had not talents. He accompanied him in his whole journey, and was many days in the fame carriage with him; during all which time he loft no opportunity to pay his court to Vinius, either by affiduities or prefents: and as he always took care to leave him the firft place, he was fecure by his means of having the fecond. Befides that there was nothing invidious in this ftation, he recommended himfelf by granting his favours and fervices without reward, and by his general affability and politenefs. He took moft pleafure in ferving the officers of

* On this occafion the following diftich was made:

Cur Otho mentito fit quæritis exul honore;
Uxoris mæchus cœperat effe fuæ.

of the army, and obtained governments for many of them, partly by applications to the emperor, and partly to Vinius and his freedmen, Icelus and Asiaticus, for these had the chief influence at court.

Whenever Galba visited him, he complimented the company of guards that was upon duty with a piece of gold for each man; thus practising upon and gaining the soldiers, while he seemed only to be doing honour to their master. When Galba was deliberating on the choice of a successor, Vinius proposed Otho. Nor was this a disinterested overture, for Otho had promised to marry Vinius's daughter, after Galba had adopted him, and appointed him his successor. But Galba always shewed that he preferred the good of the public to any private considerations; and in this case he sought not for the man who might be most agreeable to himself, but one who promised to be the greatest blessing to the Romans. Indeed it can hardly be supposed that he would have appointed Otho heir even to his private patrimony, when he knew how expensive and profuse he was, and that he was loaded with a debt of five millions of *drachmas*. He therefore gave Vinius a patient hearing, without returning him any answer, and put off the affair to another time. However, as he declared himself consul, and chose Vinius for his colleague, it was supposed that he would appoint a successor at the beginning of the next year, and the soldiers wished that Otho might be the man.

But while Galba delayed the appointment, and continued deliberating, the army mutinied in Germany. All the troops throughout the empire hated Galba, because they had not received the promised donations, but those in Germany had a particular apology for their aversion. They alleged, "That Virginius Rufus, their general, had been removed with ignominy, and that the Gauls, who had fought against them, were the only people that were rewarded; whilst all who had not joined Vindex were punished, and Galba, as if he had obligations to none but him for the imperial diadem, honoured his memory with sacrifices and public libations."

Such speeches as this were common in the camp, when the calends of January were at hand, and Flaccus assembled the soldiers, that they might take the customary oath of fealty to the emperor. But, instead of that, they over-

overturned and broke to pieces the ſtatues of Galba, and having taken an oath of allegiance to the ſenate and people of Rome, they retired to their tents. Their officers were now as apprehenſive of anarchy as rebellion, and the following ſpeech is ſaid to have been made on the occaſion: "What are we doing, my fellow-ſoldiers? We "neither appoint another emperor, nor keep our alle-"giance to the preſent, as if we had renounced not only "Galba, but every other ſovereign, and all manner of "obedience. It is true, Hordeonius Flaccus is no more "than the ſhadow of Galba. Let us quit him. But at "the diſtance of one day's march only, there is Vitellius, "who commands in the lower Germany, whoſe father "was cenſor, and thrice conſul, and in a manner col-"league to the emperor Claudius. And though his po-"verty be a circumſtance for which ſome people may "deſpiſe him, it is a ſtrong proof of his probity and "greatneſs of mind. Let us go and declare him emperor, "and ſhew the world that we know how to chooſe a per-"ſon for that high dignity better than the Spaniards and "Luſitanians."

Some approved, and others rejected this motion. One of the ſtandard-bearers, however, marched off privately and carried the news to Vitellius that night. He found him at table, for he was giving a great entertainment to his officers. The news ſoon ſpread through the army, and Fabius Valens, who commanded one of the legions, went next day at the head of a conſiderable party of horſe, and ſaluted Vitellius emperor. For ſome days before, he ſeemed to dread the weight of ſovereign power, and totally to decline it; but now being fortified with the indulgences of the table, to which he had ſat down at mid-day, he went out, and accepted the title of Germanicus, which the army conferred upon him, though he refuſed that of Cæſar. Soon after, Flaccus's troops forgot the republican oaths they had taken to the ſenate and people, and ſwore allegiance to Vitellius. Thus Vitellius was proclaimed emperor in Germany.

As ſoon as Galba was informed of the inſurrection there, he reſolved, without further delay, to proceed to the adoption. He knew ſome of his friends were for Dolabella, and a ſtill greater number for Otho; but without being guided by the judgment of either party, or making the leaſt mention of his deſign, he ſent ſuddenly for Piſo

the

the ſon of Craſſus and Scribonia, who were put to death by Nero; a young man formed by nature for every virtue, and diſtinguiſhed for his modeſty and ſobriety of manners. In purſuance of his intentions, he went down with him to the camp, to give him the title of Cæſar, and declare him his ſucceſſor. But he was no ſooner out of his palace, than very inauſpicious preſages appeared. And in the camp, when he delivered a ſpeech to the army, reading ſome parts, and pronouncing others, from memory, the many claps of thunder and flaſhes of lightening, the violent rain that fell, and the darkneſs that covered both the camp and the city, plainly announced that the gods did not admit of the adoption, and that the iſſue would be unfortunate. The countenances of the ſoldiers, too, were black and lowering, becauſe there was no donation even on that occaſion *.

As to Piſo, all that were preſent could not but wonder, that, ſo far as they could conjecture from his voice and look, he was not diſconcerted with ſo great an honour, though he did not receive it without ſenſibility †. On the contrary, in Otho's countenance there appeared ſtrong marks of reſentment, and of the impatience with which he bore the diſappointment of his hopes. For his failing of that honour which he had been thought worthy to aſpire to, and which he lately believed himſelf very near attaining, ſeemed a proof of Galba's hatred and ill intentions to him. He was not, therefore, without apprehenſions of what might befal him afterwards; and dreading Galba, execrating Piſo, and full of indignation againſt Vinius, he retired with this confuſion of paſſions in his heart. But the Chaldæans and other diviners, whom he had always about him, would not ſuffer him entirely to give up his hopes or abandon his deſign. In particular, he relied on Ptolemy, becauſe he had formerly predicted, that he ſhould not fall by the hand of Nero, but ſurvive him, and live to aſcend the imperial throne. For, as the former part of the prophecy proved true, he thought he had no reaſon to deſpair of the latter. None, how-

* Tacitus tells us, that a little exertion of liberality would have gained the army; and that Galba ſuffered by an unſeaſonable attention to the purity of ancient times.

† See an excellent ſpeech which Tacitus aſcribes to Galba on this occaſion.

however, exaſperated him more againſt Galba than thoſe who condoled with him in private, and pretended that he had been treated with great ingratitude. Beſides, there was a number of people that had flouriſhed under Tigellinus and Nymphidius, and now lived in poverty and diſgrace, who, to recommend themſelves to Otho, expreſſed great indignation at the ſlight he had ſuffered, and urged him to revenge it. Amongſt theſe were Veturius, who was *optio*, or centurion's deputy, and Barbius, who was *teſſerarius*, or one of thoſe that carry the word from the tribunes to the centurions *. Onamaſtus, one of Otho's freedmen, joined them, and went from troop to troop, corrupting ſome with money, and others with promiſes. Indeed, they were corrupt enough already, and wanted only an opportunity to put their deſigns in execution. If they had not been extremely diſaffected, they could not have been prepared for a revolt in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time as that of four days, which was all that paſſed between the adoption and the aſſaſſination; for Piſo and Galba were both ſlain the ſixth day after, which was the fifteenth of January. Early in the morning Galba ſacrificed in the palace in preſence of his friends. Umbricius, the diviner, no ſooner took the entrails in his hands, than he declared, not in enigmatical expreſſions, but plainly, that there were ſigns of great troubles, and of treaſon that threatened immediate danger to the emperor. Thus Otho was almoſt delivered up to Galba by the hand of the gods; for he ſtood behind the emperor, liſtening with great attention to the obſervations made by Umbricius. Theſe put him in great confuſion, and his fears were diſcovered by his change of colour, when his freedman

* The way of ſetting the nightly guard was by a *teſſera*, or tally, with a particular inſcription, given from one centurion to another quite through the army, till it came again to the tribune who firſt delivered it.

The text in this place is corrupt. Lipſius rightly obſerves, that, inſtead of δι' αγγελων and δι' οπτηρων, we ſhould read διαγγελων and διοπτηρων. Then it will run thus: ουτω γαρ καλουνται οἱ διαγγελων και διοπτηρων ὑπηρεσιας τελουντης. But even then Plutarch will not have given a deſcription of the principal offices of the *optio* and the *teſſerarius*. Meſſengers, it is true, they were: but ſpies only occaſionally. It is neceſſary, however, to tranſlate the text thus amended, at leaſt in a note—*So they are called who perform the offices of meſſengers and ſpies.*

freedman Onomaſtus came and told him that the architects were come, and waited for him at his houſe. This was the ſignal for Otho's meeting the ſoldiers. He pretended, therefore, that he had bought an old houſe which theſe architects were to examine, and going down by what is called Tiberius's palace, went to that part of the *forum*, where ſtands the gilded pillar which terminates all the great roads in Italy *.

The ſoldiers who received him, and ſaluted him emperor, are ſaid not to have been more than twenty-three. So that, though he had nothing of that daſtardly ſpirit which the delicacy of his conſtitution, and the effeminacy of his life, ſeemed to declare; but, on the contrary, was firm and reſolute in time of danger; yet, on this occaſion, he was intimidated, and wanted to retire. But the ſoldiers would not ſuffer it. They ſurrounded the chair † with drawn ſwords, and inſiſted on its proceeding to the camp. Meantime Otho deſired the bearers to make haſte, often declaring that he was a loſt man. There were ſome who over-heard him, and they rather wondered at the hardineſs of the attempt with ſo ſmall a party, than diſturbed themſelves about the conſequences. As he was carried through the *forum*, about the ſame number as the firſt joined him, and others afterward by three or four at a time. The whole party then ſaluted him Cæſar, and conducted him to the camp, flouriſhing their ſwords before him. Martialis, the tribune who kept guard that day, knowing nothing (as they tell us) of the conſpiracy, was ſurpriſed and terrified at ſo unexpected a ſight, and ſuffered them to enter. When Otho was within the camp, he met with no reſiſtance, for the conſpirators gathered about ſuch as were ſtrangers to the deſign, and made it their buſineſs to explain it to them; upon which, they joined them by one or two at a time, at firſt out of fear, and afterwards out of choice.

The news was immediately carried to Galba, while the diviner yet attended, and had the entrails in his hands; ſo that they who had been moſt incredulous in matters of



* This pillar was ſet up by Auguſtus when he took the highways under his inſpection, and had the diſtances of places from Rome marked upon it.

† Suetonius ſays, he got into a woman's ſedan, in order to be the better concealed.

of divination, and even held it in contempt before, were aſtoniſhed at the divine interpoſition in the accompliſhment of this preſage. People of all ſorts now crowding from the *forum* to the palace, Vinius and Laco, with ſome of the emperor's freedmen, ſtood before him with drawn ſwords to defend him. Piſo went out to ſpeak to the life-guards, and Marius Celſus, a man of great courage and honour, was ſent to ſecure the Illyrian legion, which lay in Vipſanius's portico.

Galba was inclined to go out to the people. Vinius endeavoured to diſſuade him from it; but Celſus and Laco encouraged him to go, and expreſſed themſelves with ſome ſharpneſs againſt Vinius. Meantime a ſtrong report prevailed that Otho was ſlain in the camp; ſoon after which, Julius Atticus, a ſoldier of ſome note amongſt the guards, came up, and crying he was the man that had killed Cæſar's enemy, made his way through the crowd, and ſhewed his bloody ſword to Galba. The emperor fixing his eye upon him, ſaid, "Who gave you orders?" He anſwered, "My allegiance, and the oath I had taken;" and the people expreſſed their approbation in loud plaudits. Galba then went out in a ſedan chair, with a deſign to ſacrifice to Jupiter, and ſhew himſelf to the people. But he had no ſooner reached the *forum*, than the rumour changed like the wind, and news met him, that Otho was maſter of the camp. On this occaſion, as it was natural amongſt a multitude of people, ſome called out to him to advance, and ſome to retire; ſome to take courage, and ſome to be cautious. His chair was toſſed backward and forward, as in a tempeſt, and ready to be overſet, when there appeared firſt a party of horſe, and then another of foot, iſſuing from the *Baſilica* of Paulus, and crying out, "Away with this private man!" Numbers were then running about, not to ſeparate by flight, but to poſſeſs themſelves of the porticos and eminences about the *forum*, as it were to enjoy ſome public ſpectacle. Atilius Virgilio beat down one of Galba's ſtatues, which ſerved as a ſignal for hoſtilities, and they attacked the chair on all ſides with javelins. As thoſe did not deſpatch him, they advanced ſword in hand. In this time of trial none ſtood up in his defence but one man, who, indeed, amongſt ſo many millions, was the only one that did honour to the Roman empire. This was

Sempronius

Sempronius Densus *, a centurion, who, without any particular obligations to Galba, and only from a regard to honour and the law, stood forth to defend the chair. First of all he lifted up the vine-branch with which the centurions chastise such as deserve stripes, and then called out to the soldiers who were pressing on, and commanded them to spare the emperor. They fell upon him notwithstanding, and he drew his sword and fought a long time, till he received a stroke in the ham, which brought him to the ground.

The chair was overturned at what is called the Curtian lake, and Galba tumbling out of it, they ran to despatch him. At the same time he presented his throat, and said, " Strike, if it be for the good of Rome." He received many strokes upon his arms and legs, for he had a coat of mail upon his body. According to most accounts, it was Camurius, a soldier of the fifteenth legion that despatched him; though some say it was Terentius, some Arcadius †, and others Fabius Fabulus. They add, that when Fabius had cut off his head, he wrapt it up in the skirt of his garment, because it was so bald that he could take no hold of it. His associates, however, would not suffer him to conceal it, but insisted that he should let the world see what an exploit he had performed; he therefore fixed it upon the point of his spear, and swinging about the head of a venerable old man, and a mild prince, who was both *Pontifex Maximus* and consul, he ran on, (like the Bacchanals with the head of Pentheus) brandishing his spear that was dyed with the blood that trickled from it.

When the head was presented to Otho, he cried out, " This is nothing, my fellow-soldiers; shew me the head " of Piso." It was brought not long after; for that young prince being wounded, and pursued by one Murcus, was killed by him at the gates of the temple of Vesta. Vinius also was put to the sword, though he declared himself an accomplice in the conspiracy, and protested that it was against Otho's orders that he suffered. However, They



* In the Greek text it is *Indistrus*; but that text (as we observed before) in the life of Galba, is extremely corrupt. We have therefore given *Densus* from Tacitus; as *Vergilio*, instead of *Sercello*, above.

† In Tacitus, *Lecanius*. That historian makes no mention of Fabius.

they cut off his head, and that of Laco, and carrying them to Otho, demanded their reward: For, as Archilochus says:

> We bring seven warriors only to your tent,
> Yet thousands of us kill'd them.

So in this case many who had no share in the action, bathed their hands and swords in the blood, and shewing them to Otho, petitioned for their reward. It appeared afterwards from the petitions given in, that the number of them was a hundred and twenty; and Vitellius having searched them out, and put them all to death. Marius Celsus also coming to the camp, many accused him of having exhorted the soldiers to stand by Galba, and the bulk of the army insisted that he should suffer. But Otho being desirous to save him, and yet afraid of contradicting them, told them, "He did not choose to have him executed so soon, because he had several important questions to put to him." He ordered him, therefore, to be kept in chains, and delivered him to persons in whom he could best confide.

The senate was immediately assembled; and as if they were become different men, or had other gods to swear by, they took the oath to Otho, which he had before taken to Galba, but had not kept; and they gave him the titles of Cæsar and Augustus, while the bodies of those that had been beheaded lay in their consular robes in the *forum*. As for the heads, the soldiers, after they had no farther use for them, sold that of Vinius to his daughter for two thousand five hundred *drachmas*. Piso's was given to his wife Verania, at her request *; and Galba's to the servants of Patrobius and Vitellus †, who, after they had treated it with the utmost insolence and outrage, threw it into a place called *Sestertium* ‡, where the bodies of those are cast that are put to death by the emperors. Galba's corpse was carried away by Helvidius Priscus, with Otho's permission, and buried in the night by his freedman Argius.

Such

* Tacitus, (lib. i.) says, she purchased it.

† Galba had put Patrobius to death; but we know not why the servants of Vitellius should desire to treat Galba's remains with any indignity.

‡ Lipsius says, it was so called *quasi semitertium*, as being two miles and a half from the city.

Such is the hiſtory of Galba; a man, who, in the points of family and fortune diſtinctly conſidered, was exceeded by few of the Romans, and who, in the union of both was ſuperior to all. He had lived, too, in great honour, and with the beſt reputation, under five emperors; and it was rather by his character than by force of arms that he depoſed Nero. As to the reſt who conſpired againſt the tyrant, ſome of them were thought unworthy of the imperial diadem, by the people, and others thought themſelves unworthy. But Galba was invited to accept it, and only followed the ſenſe of thoſe who called him to that high dignity. Nay, when he gave the ſanction of his name to Vindex, that which before was called rebellion, was conſidered only as a civil war, becauſe a man of princely talents was then at the head of it. So that he did not ſo much want the empire, as the empire wanted him: and with theſe principles he attempted to govern a people corrupted by Tigellinus and Nymphidius, as Scipio, Fabricius, and Camillus, governed the Romans of their times. Notwithſtanding his great age, he ſhewed himſelf a chief worthy of ancient Rome through all the military department. But, in the civil adminiſtration, he delivered himſelf up to Vinius, to Laco, and to his enfranchiſed ſlaves, who ſold every thing, in the ſame manner as Nero had left all to his inſatiable vermin. The conſequence of this was, that no man regretted him as an emperor, though almoſt all were moved with pity at his miſerable fate.

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# OTHO.

THE new emperor went early in the morning to the capitol, and ſacrificed; after which he ordered Marius Celſus to be brought before him. He received that officer with great marks of his regard, and deſired him rather to forget the cauſe of his confinement, than to remember his releaſe. Celſus neither ſhewed any meanneſs in his acknowledgements, nor any want of gratitude. He ſaid, "The very charge brought againſt him, bore witneſs to "his

"his character; since he was accused only of having "been faithful to Galba, from whom he had never re- "ceived any personal obligations." All who were present at the audience admired both the emperor and Celsus, and the soldiers in particular testified their approbation*.

Otho made a mild and gracious speech to the senate. The remaining time of his consulship he divided with Verginius Rufus, and he left those who had been appointed to that dignity by Nero and Galba to enjoy it in their course. Such as were respectable for their age and character, he promoted to the priesthood; and to those senators who had been banished by Nero, and recalled by Galba, he restored all their goods and estates that he found unsold. So that the first and best of the citizens, who had before not considered him as a man, but dreaded him as a fury or destroying dæmon that had suddenly seized the seat of government, now entertained more pleasing hopes from so promising a beginning.

But nothing gave the people in general so high a pleasure †, or contributed so much to gain him their affections, as his punishing Tigellinus. It is true he had long suffered under the fear of punishment, which the Romans demanded as a public debt, and under a complication of incurable distempers. These, together with his infamous connections with the worst of prostitutes, into which his passions drew him, though almost in the arms of death, were considered by the thinking part of mankind as the greatest of punishments, and worse than many deaths. Yet it was a pain to the common people, that he should see the light of the sun, after so many excellent men had been deprived of it through his means. He was then at his country-house near Sinuessa, and had vessels at anchor, ready to carry him on occasion to some distant country. Otho sent to him there; and he first attempted to

* Otho exempted the soldiers from the fees which they had paid the centurions for furloughs and other immunities; but at the same time promised to satisfy the centurions, on all reasonable occasions, out of his own revenue. In consequence of these furloughs the fourth part of a legion was often absent, and the troops became daily more and more corrupted.

† In the close of the day on which he was inaugurated, he put Laco and Icelus to death.

to bribe the meſſenger with large ſums to ſuffer him to eſcape. When he found that did not take effect, he gave him the money notwithſtanding; and deſiring only to be indulged a few moments till he had ſhaved himſelf, he took the razor and cut his own throat.

Beſides this juſt ſatisfaction that Otho gave the people, it was a moſt agreeable circumſtance that he remembered none of his private quarrels. To gratify the populace, he ſuffered them alſo at firſt to give him in the theatres the name of Nero, and he made no oppoſition to thoſe who erected publicly the ſtatues of that emperor. Nay, Claudius * Rufus tells us, that in the letters with which the couriers were ſent to Spain, he joined the name of Nero to that of Otho. But perceiving that the nobility were offended, he made uſe of it no more.

After his government was thus eſtabliſhed, the prætorian cohorts gave him no ſmall trouble, by exhorting him to beware of many perſons of rank, and to forbid them the court; whether it was that their affection made them really apprehenſive for him, or whether it was only a colour for raiſing commotions and wars. One day the emperor himſelf had ſent Criſpinus orders to bring the ſeventeenth cohort from Oſtia, and in order to do it without interruption, that officer began to prepare for it as ſoon as it grew dark, and to pack up the arms in waggons. Upon which, ſome of the moſt turbulent cried out, that Criſpinus was come with no good intention, that the ſenate had ſome deſign againſt the government, and that the arms he was going to carry, were to be made uſe of againſt Cæſar, not for him. This notion ſoon ſpread, and exaſperated numbers; ſome laid hold on the waggons, while others killed two centurions who endeavoured to quell the mutiny, and Criſpinus himſelf. Then the whole party armed, and exhorting each other to go to the emperor's aſſiſtance, they marched ſtraight to Rome. Being informed there that eighty ſenators ſupped with him that evening, they haſtened to the palace, ſaying, Then was the time to cruſh all Cæſar's enemies at once. The city was greatly alarmed, expecting to be plundered immediately,



* This writer, who was a man of conſular dignity, and ſucceeded Galba in the government of Spain, was not called *Claudius* but *Cluvius* Rufus.

ately. The palace, too, was in the utmoſt confuſion, and Otho himſelf in unſpeakable diſtreſs. For he was under fear and concern for the ſenators, while they were afraid of him; and he ſaw they kept their eyes fixed upon him in ſilence and extreme conſternation; ſome having even brought their wives with them to ſupper. He therefore ordered the principal officers of the guards to go and ſpeak to the ſoldiers and endeavour to appeaſe them, and at the ſame time ſent out his gueſts at another door. They had ſcarce made their eſcape when the ſoldiers ruſhed into the room, and aſked what was become of the enemies of Cæſar. The emperor then riſing from his couch, uſed many arguments to ſatisfy them, and by entreaties and tears at laſt prevailed upon them with much difficulty to deſiſt.

Next day, having preſented the ſoldiers with twelve hundred and fifty *drachmas* a man, he entered the camp. On this occaſion he commended the troops as in general well-affected to his government, but at the ſame time he told them there were ſome deſigning men amongſt them, who by their cabals brought his moderation and their fidelity both into queſtion: theſe, he ſaid, deſerved their reſentment, and he hoped they would aſſiſt him in puniſhing them. They applauded his ſpeech, and deſired him to chaſtiſe whatever perſons he thought proper; but he pitched upon two only for capital puniſhment, whom no man could poſſibly regret, and then returned to his palace.

Thoſe who had conceived an affection for Otho and placed a confidence in him, admired this change in his conduct. But others thought it was no more than a piece of policy which the times neceſſarily required, and that he aſſumed a popular behaviour on account of the impending war. For now he had undoubted intelligence that Vitellius had taken the title of emperor and all the enſigns of ſupreme power, and couriers daily arrived with news of continual additions to his party. Other meſſengers alſo arrived with accounts that the forces in Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Myſia, with their generals, had declared for Otho. And a few days after, he received obliging letters from Mucianus and Veſpaſian, who both commanded numerous armies, the one in Syria, and the other in Judea.

Elated

Elated with its intelligence, he wrote to Vitellius, advising him not to aspire to things above his rank, and promised, in case he desisted, to supply him liberally with money, and gave him a city in which he might spend his days in pleasure and repose. Vitellius at first gave him an answer, in which ridicule was tempered with civility. But afterwards being both thoroughly exasperated, they wrote to each other in a style of the bitterest invective. Not that their mutual reproaches were groundless, but it was absurd for the one to insult the other with what might with equal justice be objected to both. For their charges consisted of prodigality, effeminacy, incapacity for war, their former poverty and immense debts; such articles that it is hard to say which of them had the advantage.

As to the stories of prodigies and apparitions at that time, many of them were founded upon vague reports that could not be traced to their author. But in the capitol there was a victory mounted upon a chariot, and numbers of people saw her let the reins fall out of her hands, as if she had lost the power to hold them. And in the island of the Tiber, the statue of Julius Cæsar turned from west to east, without either earthquake or whirlwind to move it. A circumstance which is said likewise to have happened, when Vespasian openly took upon him the direction of affairs. The inundation of the Tiber too, was considered by the populace as a bad omen. It was at a time, indeed, when rivers usually overflow their banks; but the flood never rose so high before, nor was so ruinous in its effects; for now it laid great part of the city under water, particularly the corn-market, and caused a famine which continued for some days.

About this time news was brought that Cecina and Valens, who acted for Vitellius, had seized the passes of the Alps. And in Rome Dolabella, who was of an illustrious family, was suspected by the guards of some disloyal design. Otho either fearing him, or some other whom he could influence, sent him to Aquinum, with assurances of friendly treatment. When the emperor came to select the officers that were to attend him on his march, he appointed Lucius, the brother of Vitellius, to be of the number, without either promoting or lowering him in point of rank. He took also particular

care

care of the mother and wife of Vitellius, and endeavoured to put them in a ſituation where they had nothing to fear, The government of Rome he gave to Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Veſpaſian; either with an intention to do honour to Nero, (for he had formerly given him that appointment, and Galba had deprived him of it) or elſe to ſhew his affection to Veſpaſian by promoting his brother.

Otho himſelf ſtopped at Brixillum, a town in Italy near the Po, and ordered the army to march on under the conduct of his lieutenants, Marius Celſus, Suetonius Paulinus, Gallus and Spurina, officers of great reputation. But they could not purſue the plan of operations they had formed, by reaſon of the obſtinacy and diſorderly behaviour of the ſoldiers, who declared that *they* had made the emperor, and they would be commanded by him only. The enemy's troops were not under much better diſcipline: they, too, were refractory and diſobedient to their officers, and on the ſame account. Yet they had ſeen ſervice, and were accuſtomed to fatigue: whereas Otho's men had been uſed to idleneſs, and their manner of living was quite different from that in the field. Indeed, they had ſpent moſt of their time at public ſpectacles and the entertainments of the theatre, and were come to that degree of inſolence, that they did not pretend to be unable to perform the ſervices they were ordered upon, but affected to be above them. Spurina, who attempted to uſe compulſion, was in danger of being killed by them. They ſpared no manner of abuſe, calling him traitor, and telling him that it was he who ruined the affairs of Cæſar, and purpoſely miſſed the faireſt opportunities. Some of them came in the night intoxicated with liquor to his tent, and demanded their diſcharge, "For they had to go," they ſaid, "to Cæſar, "to accuſe him."

The cauſe, however, and Spurina with it, received ſome benefit from the inſult which theſe troops met with at Placentia. Thoſe of Vitellius came up to the walls, and ridiculed Otho's men who were appointed to defend them; calling them players and dancers, fit only to attend the Pythian and Olympic games; fellows who knew nothing of war, who had not even made one campaign, who were ſwoln up with pride merely becauſe they had cut

cut off the head of a poor unarmed old man (meaning Galba); wretches that durst not look men in the face, or stand any thing like a fair and open battle. They were so cut with these reproaches, and so desirous of revenge, that they threw themselves at Spurnia's feet, and begged of him to command and employ them on whatever service he thought proper, assuring him that there was neither danger nor labour which they would decline. After this, the enemy made a vigorous attack upon the town, and plied their battering engines with all their force; but Spurnia's men repulsed them with great slaughter, and by that means kept possession of one of the most respectable and most flourishing towns in Italy.

It must be observed of Otho's officers in general, that they were more obliging in their behaviour both to cities and private persons than those of Vitellius. Cecina, one of the latter, had nothing popular either in his address or his figure. He was of a gigantic size and most uncouth appearance; for he wore breeches and long sleeves in the manner of the Gauls, even while his standard was Roman, and whilst he gave his instructions to Roman officers. His wife followed him on horseback, in a rich dress, and was attended by a select party of cavalry. Fabius Valens, the other general, had a passion for money, which was not to be satisfied by any plunder from the enemy, or exactions and contributions from the allies. Insomuch, that he was believed to proceed more slowly for the sake of collecting gold as he went, and therefore was not up at the first action. Some, indeed, accuse Cecina of hastening to give battle before the arrival of Valens, in order that the victory might be all his own; and beside other less faults, they charged him not only with attacking at an unseasonable time, but with not maintaining the combat so gallantly as he ought to have done; all which errors nearly ruined the affairs of his party.

Cecina, after his repulse at Placentia, marched against Cremona, another rich and great city. In the mean time Annius Gallus, who was going to join Spurnia at Placentia, had intelligence by the way that he was victorious, and that the siege was raised. But being informed at the same time that Cremona was in danger, he led his forces thither, and encamped very near the enemy. Afterwards

terwards other officers brought in reinforcements *. Cecina posted a strong body of infantry under cover of some trees and thickets; after which, he ordered his cavalry to advance, and if the enemy attacked them, to give way by degrees, and retire, till they had drawn them into the ambuscade. But Celsus being informed of his intention by some deserters, advanced with his best cavalry against Cecina's troops; and, upon their retreating, he pursued with so much caution, that he surrounded the corps that lay in ambush. Having thus put them in confusion, he called the legions from the camp; and it appears, that if they had come up in time to support the horse, Cecina's whole army would have been cut in pieces. But, as Paulinus advanced very slowly †, he was censured for having used more precaution than became a general of his character. Nay, the soldiers accused him of treachery, and endeavoured to incense Otho against him, insisting that the victory was in their hands, and that if it was not complete, it was owing entirely to the mismanagement of their generals. Otho did not so much believe these representations, as he was willing to appear not to disbelieve them. He therefore sent his brother Titianus to the army, with Proculus the captain of his guard; Titianus had the command in appearance, and Proculus in reality. Celsus and Paulinus had the title of friends and counsellors, but not the least authority in the direction of affairs.

The enemy, too, were not without their dissatisfactions and disorder, particularly amongst the forces of Valens. For when they were informed of what happened at the ambuscade, they expressed their indignation that their general did not put it in their power to be there, that they might have used their endeavours to save so many brave men who perished in that action. They were even inclined

* Επειτα και των αλλων εκαςος εϐοηθει τω ςρατηγω. Dacier takes no notice of this passage, though a material one both in the place where it stands, and with regard to the connexion too.

† Tacitus tells us, that Paulinus was naturally slow and irresolute. On this occasion he charges him with two errors. The first was, that, instead of advancing immediately to the charge, and supporting his cavalry, he trifled away the time in filling up the trenches; the second, that he did not avail himself of the disorder of the enemy, but sounded much too early a retreat.

inclined to despatch him; but having pacified them with much difficulty, he decamped and joined Cecina.

In the mean time Otho came to the camp at Bedriacum, a small town near Cremona, and there held a council of war. Proculus and Titianus were of opinion, "That he "ought to give battle, while the army retained those high "spirits with which the late victory had inspired them, "and not suffer that ardour to cool, nor wait till Vitellius "came in person from Gaul." But Paulinus was against it. "The enemy," said he, "have received all their "troops, and have no farther preparations to make for the "combat; whereas Otho will have from Mysia and Pan-"nonia forces as numerous as those he has already, if he "will wait his own opportunity, instead of giving one to "the enemy. And certainly the army he now has, if "with their small numbers they have so much ardour, will "not fight with less but greater spirit when they see their "numbers so much increased. Besides, the gaining of "time makes for us, because we have every thing in "abundance, but delays must greatly distress Cecina and "his colleague for necessaries, because they lie in an "enemy's country."

Marius Celsus supported the opinion of Paulinus. Annius Gallus could not attend, because he had received some hurt by a fall from his horse, and was under cure. Otho therefore wrote to him, and Gallus advised him not to precipitate matters, but to wait for the army from Mysia, which was already on the way. Otho, however, would not be guided by these counsels, and the opinion of those prevailed who were for hazarding a battle immediately. Different reasons are, indeed, alleged for this resolution. The most probable is, that the prætorian cohorts, which composed the emperor's guards, now coming to taste what real war was, longed to be once more at a distance from it, to return to the ease, the company, and public diversions of Rome; and therefore they could not be restrained in their eagerness for a battle, for they imagined that they could overpower the enemy at the first charge. Besides, Otho seems to have been no longer able to support himself in a state of suspence; such an aversion to the thoughts of danger had his dissipation and effeminacy given him! Overburthened then by his cares, he hastened to free himself from their weight; he covered his

his eyes, and leaped down the precipice; he committed all at once to fortune. Such is the account given of the matter by the orator Secundus, who was Otho's secretary.

Others say, that the two parties were much inclined to lay down their arms, and unite in choosing an emperor out of the best generals they had; or, if they could not agree upon it, to leave the election to the senate. Nor is it improbable, as the two who were called emperors were neither of them men of reputation, that the experienced and prudent part of the soldiers should form such a design. For they could not but reflect how unhappy and dreadful a thing it would be to plunge themselves into the same calamities, which the Romans could not bring upon each other without aching hearts, in the quarrels of Sylla and Marius, of Cæsar and Pompey: and for what? but to provide an empire to minister to the insatiable appetite and the drunkenness of Vitellius, or to the luxury and debaucheries of Otho. These considerations are supposed to have induced Celsus to endeavour to gain time, in hopes that matters might be compromised without the sword; while Otho, out of fear of such an agreement, hastened the battle.

In the mean time he returned to Brixillum *, which certainly was an additional error: for by that step he deprived the combatants of the reverence and emulation which his presence might have inspired, and took a considerable limb from the body of the army, I mean some of the best and most active men, both horse and foot, for his body-guard. There happened about that time a rencounter upon the Po, while Cecina's troops endeavoured to lay a bridge over that river, and Otho's to prevent it. The latter finding their other efforts ineffectual, put a quantity of torches well covered with brimstone and pitch into some boats, which were carried by the wind and current upon the enemy's work. First smoke, and afterwards a bright flame arose; upon which Cecina's men were so terri-

* It was debated in council, whether the emperor should be present in the action, or not. Marius Celsus and Paulinus durst not vote for it, lest they should seem inclined to expose his person. He therefore retired to Brixillum, which was a circumstance that contributed not a little to his ruin.

terrified that they leaped into the river, overſet their boats, and were entirely expoſed to their enemies, who laughed at their aukward diſtreſs.

The German troops, however, beat Otho's gladiators in a little iſland of the Po, and killed a conſiderable number of them. Otho's army that was in Bedriacum, reſenting this affront, inſiſted on being led out to battle. Accordingly Proculus marched, and pitched his camp at the diſtance of fifty furlongs from Bedriacum. But he choſe his ground in a very unſkilful manner. For, though it was in the ſpring ſeaſon, and the country afforded many ſprings and rivulets, his army was diſtreſſed for water. Next day, Proculus was for marching againſt the enemy, who lay not leſs than a hundred furlongs off. But Paulinus would not agree to it. He ſaid, they ought to keep the poſt they had taken, rather than fatigue themſelves firſt, and then immediately engage an enemy, who could arm and put themſelves in order of battle at their leiſure, while they were making ſuch a march with all the incumbrance of baggage and ſervants. The generals diſputed the point, till a Numidian horſeman came with letters from Otho, ordering them to make no longer delay, but proceed to the attack without loſing a moment's time. They then decamped of courſe, and went to ſeek the enemy. The news of their approach threw Cecina into great confuſion; and immediately quitting his works and poſt upon the river, he repaired to the camp, where he found moſt of the ſoldiers armed, and the word already given by Valens.

During the time that the infantry were forming, the beſt of the cavalry were directed to ſkirmiſh. At that moment a report was ſpread, from what cauſe we cannot tell, amongſt Otho's van, that Vitellius's officers were coming over to their party. As ſoon, therefore, as they approached, they ſaluted them in a friendly manner, calling them fellow-ſoldiers. But inſtead of receiving the appellation, they anſwered with a furious and hoſtile ſhout. The conſequence was, that the perſons who made the compliment were diſpirited, and the reſt ſuſpected them of treaſon. This was the firſt thing that diſconcerted Otho's troops, for by this time the enemy had charged. Beſides, they could preſerve no order; the intermixture of the baggage, and the nature of the ground,

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preventing any regular movement. For the ground was ſo full of ditches and other inequalities, that they were forced to break their ranks and wheel about to avoid them, and could only fight in ſmall parties. There were but two legions, one of Vitellius's called *the devourer*, and one of Otho's called *the ſuccourer*, which could diſentangle themſelves from the defiles and gain the open plain. Theſe engaged in a regular battle, and fought a long time. Otho's men were vigorous and brave, but they had not ſeen ſo much as one action before this; on the other hand, thoſe of Vitellius had much experience in the field, but they were old, and their ſtrength decaying.

Otho's legion coming on with great fury, mowed down the firſt ranks, and took the eagle. The enemy, filled with ſhame and reſentment, advanced to chaſtiſe them, ſlew Orphidius, who commanded the legion, and took ſeveral ſtandards. Againſt the gladiators, who had the reputation of being brave fellows, and excellent at cloſe fighting, Alphenus Varus brought up the Batavians, who come from an iſland formed by the Rhine, and are the beſt cavalry in Germany. A few of the gladiators made head againſt them, but the greateſt part fled to the river, and falling in with ſome of the enemy's infantry that was poſted there, were all cut in pieces. But none behaved ſo ill that day as the prætorian bands. They did not even wait to receive the enemy's charge, and in their flight they broke through the troops that as yet ſtood their ground, and put them in diſorder. Nevertheleſs, many of Otho's men were irreſiſtible in the quarter where they fought, and opened a way through the victorious enemy to their camp. But Proculus aud Paulinus took another way; for they dreaded the ſoldiers, who already blamed their generals for the loſs of the day.

Annius Gallus received into the city all the ſcattered parties, and endeavoured to encourage them by aſſurances that the advantage upon the whole was equal, and that their troops had the ſuperiority in many parts of the field. But Marius Celſus aſſembled the principal officers, and deſired them to conſider of meaſures that might ſave their country. "After ſuch an expence of Roman blood," ſaid he, "Otho himſelf, if he has a patriotic principle, would "not tempt Fortune any more; ſince Cato and Scipio, "in refuſing to ſubmit to Cæſar after the battle of "Phar-

"Pharsalia, are accused of having unnecessarily sacrificed the lives of so many brave men in Africa, notwithstanding that they fought for the liberties of their country. Fortune, indeed, is capricious, and all men are liable to suffer by her inconstancy: yet good men have one advantage which she cannot deprive them of, and that is, to avail themselves of their reason in whatever may befal them." These arguments prevailed with the officers, and on sounding the private men they found them desirous of peace. Titianus himself was of opinion that they ought to send ambassadors to treat for a coalition. In pursuance of which, Celsus and Gallus were charged with a commission to Cecina and Valens. As they were upon the road, they met some centurions, who informed them that Vitellus's army was advancing to Bedriacum, and that they were sent before by their generals with proposals for an accommodation. Celsus and Gallus commended their design, and desired them to go back with them to meet Cecina.

When they approached that general's army, Celsus was in great danger. For the cavalry that were beaten in the affair of the ambuscade, happened to be in the van; and they no sooner saw Celsus, than they advanced with loud shouts against him. The centurions, however, put themselves before him, and the other officers called out to them to do him no violence. Cecina himself, when he was informed of the tumult, rode up and quelled it, and after he had made his compliments to Celsus in a very obliging manner, accompanied him to Bedriacum.

In the mean time, Titianus repenting that he had sent the ambassadors, placed the most resolute of the soldiers again upon the walls, and exhorted the rest to be assisting. But when Cecina rode up and offered his hand, not a man of them could resist him. Some saluted his men from the walls, and others opened the gates; after which they went out and mixed with the troops that were coming up. Instead of acts of hostility, there was nothing but mutual caresses and other demonstrations of friendship: in consequence of which, they all took the oath to Vitellius, and ranged themselves under his banner.

This is the account which most of those that were in the battle give of it; but at the same time they confess that they did not know all the particulars, because of the con-

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fuſed manner in which they fought and the inequality of the ground. Long after, when I was paſſing over the field of battle, Meſtrius Florus, a perſon of conſular dignity, ſhewed me an old man, who in his youth had ſerved under Otho with others of the ſame age with himſelf, not from inclination, but by conſtraint *. He told me alſo, that on viſiting the field, after the battle, he ſaw a large pile of dead bodies as high as the head of a man; and upon inquiring into the reaſon, he could neither diſcover it himſelf, nor get any information about it. It was no wonder that there was a great carnage in caſe of a general rout, becauſe in a civil war they make no priſoners; for ſuch captives would be of no advantage to the conquerors; but it is difficult to aſſign a reaſon why the carcaſes ſhould be piled up in that manner.

An uncertain rumour (as it commonly happens) was firſt brought to Otho, and afterwards ſome of the wounded came

* From this paſſage Dacier would infer that the life of Otho was not written by Plutarch. He ſays, a perſon who ſerved a young man under Otho, could not be old at the time when Plutarch can be ſuppoſed to have viſited that field of battle. His argument is this. That battle was fought in the year of Chriſt ſixty-nine: Plutarch returned from Italy to Chæronea about the end of Domitian's reign, in the year of Chriſt ninety-three or ninety four, and never left his native city any more. As this retreat of Plutarch's was only twenty-four or twenty-five years after the battle of Bedriacum, he concludes that a perſon who fought in that battle a young man, could not poſſibly be old when Plutarch made the tour of Italy; and therefore conjectures that this, as well as the life of Galba, muſt have been written by a ſon of Plutarch.

But we think no argument, in a matter of ſuch importance, ought to be adduced from a paſſage manifeſtly corrupt. For inſtead of *οντα παλαιον*, we muſt either read *ενα οντα παλαιον*, or *νυν δε παλαιον ενα*, to make either Greek or ſenſe of it.

Lamprias, in the catalogue, aſcribes theſe two lives to his father. Nor do we ſee ſuch a diſſimilarity to Plutarch's other writings, either in the ſtyle or manner, as warrants us to conclude that they are not of his hand.

Henry Stevens did not, indeed, take them into his edition, becauſe he found them amongſt the *opuſcula*; and, as ſome of the *opuſcula* were ſuppoſed to be ſpurious, he believed too haſtily that theſe were of the number.

We think the loſs of Plutarch's other lives of the emperors a real loſs to the world, and ſhould have been glad if they had come down to us, even in the ſame imperfect condition, as to the text, as thoſe of Galba and Otho.

came and assured him that the battle was lost. On this occasion, it was nothing extraordinary that his friends strove to encourage him and keep him from desponding; but the attachment of the soldiers to him exceeds all belief. None of them left him, or went over to the enemy, or consulted his own safety, even when their chief despaired of his. On the contrary, they crowded his gates; they called him emperor; they left no form of application untried *; they kissed his hands, they fell at his feet; and with groans and tears intreated him not to forsake them, nor give them up to their enemies, but to employ their hearts and hands to the last moment of their lives. They all joined in this request: and one of the private men drawing his sword, thus addressed himself to Otho, "Know, Cæsar, what "your soldiers are ready to do for you," and immediately plunged the steel into his heart.

Otho was not moved at this affecting scene, but with a cheerful and steady countenance looking round upon the company, he spoke as follows: "This day, my fellow-"soldiers, I consider as a more happy one, than that on "which you made me emperor, when I see you thus dis-"posed, and am so great in your opinion. But deprive "me not of a still greater happiness, that of laying down "my life with honour for so many generous Romans. "If I am worthy of the Roman empire, I ought to shed "my blood for my country. I know the victory my ad-"versaries has gained is by no means decisive. I have "intelligence that my army from Mysia is at the distance "of but a few days march; Asia, Syria, and Egypt, are "pouring their legions upon the Adriatic; the forces in "Judea declare for us; the senate is with us; and the "very wives and children of our enemies are so many "pledges in our hands. But we are not fighting for "Italy with Hannibal or Pyrrhus or the Cimbrians; our "dispute is with the Romans; and whatever party prevails, "whether we conquer or are conquered, our country "must suffer. Under the victor's joy she bleeds. Be-"lieve, then, my friends, that I can die with greater glo-"ry than reign. For I know no benefit that Rome can "reap

* Instead of εγινοντο τροπαια, which has nothing to do here, one of the commentators proposes to read εγινοντο παντοια, which is a common phrase with Plutarch.

" reap from my victory, equal to what I ſhall confer upon " her by ſacrificing myſelf for peace and unanimity, and " to prevent Italy from beholding ſuch another day as " this!"

After he had made this ſpeech, and ſhewed himſelf immoveable to thoſe who attempted to alter his reſolution, he deſired his friends, and ſuch ſenators as were preſent, to leave him, and provide for their own ſafety. To thoſe that were abſent he ſent the ſame commands, and ſignified his pleaſure to the cities by letters, that they ſhould receive them honourably, and ſupply them with good convoys.

He then called his nephew Cocceius *, who was yet very young, and bade him compoſe himſelf, and not fear Vitellius. " I have taken the ſame care," ſaid he, " of " his mother, his wife and children, as if they had been " my own. And for the ſame reaſon, I mean for your " ſake, I deferred the adoption which I intended you. " For I thought proper to wait the iſſue of this war, that " you might reign with me if I conquered, and not fall " with me if I was overcome. The laſt thing, my ſon, I " have to recommend to you, is, neither entirely to for" get, nor yet to remember too well that you had an em" peror for your uncle."

A moment after, he heard a great noiſe and tumult at his gate. The ſoldiers ſeeing the ſenators retiring, threatened to kill them if they moved a ſtep farther or abandoned the emperor. Otho, in great concern for them, ſhewed himſelf again at the door, but no longer with a mild and ſupplicating air; on the contrary, he caſt ſuch a ſtern and angry look upon the moſt turbulent part of them, that they withdrew in great fear and confuſion.

In the evening he was thirſty, and drank a little water. Then he had two ſwords brought him, and having examined the points of both a long time, he ſent away the one, and put the other under his arm. After this, he called his ſervants, and with many expreſſions of kindneſs gave them money. Not that he choſe to be laviſh of what would ſoon be another's; for he gave to ſome more, and to ſome leſs, proportioning his bounty to their merit, and paying a ſtrict regard to propriety.

When

* Tacitus and Suetonius call him *Cocceianus*.

When he had dismissed them, he dedicated the remainder of the night to repose, and slept so sound, that his chamberlains heard him at the door. Early in the morning he called his freedman, who assisted him in the care of the senators, and ordered him to make the proper inquiries about them. The answer he brought, was, that they were gone and had been provided with every thing they desired. Upon which he said, "Go you, then, and shew "yourself to the soldiers, that they may not imagine you "have assisted me in despatching myself, and put you to "some cruel death for it."

As soon as the freedman was gone out, he fixed the hilt of his sword upon the ground, and holding it with both hands, fell upon it with so much force, that he expired with one groan. The servants who waited without heard the groan, and burst into a loud lamentation, which was echoed through the camp and the city. The soldiers ran to the gates with the most pitiable wailings and most unfeigned grief, reproaching themselves for not guarding their emperor, and preventing his dying for them. Not one of them would leave him to provide for himself, though the enemy was approaching. They attired the body in a magnificent manner, and prepared a funeral pile; after which they attended the procession in their armour, and happy was the man that could come to support his bier. Some kneeled and kissed his wound, some grasped his hand, and others prostrated themselves on the ground, and adored him at a distance. Nay, there were some who threw their torches upon the pile, and then slew themselves. Not that they had received any extraordinary favours from the deceased, or were afraid of suffering under the hands of the conqueror: but it seems that no king or tyrant was ever so passionately fond of governing, as they were of being governed by Otho. Nor did their affection cease with his death; it survived the grave, and terminated in the hatred and destruction of Vitellius. Of that we shall give an account in its proper place.

After they had interred the remains of Otho, they erected a monument over them, which, neither by its size nor any pomp of epitaph, could excite the least envy. I have seen it at Brixillum; it was very modest, and the inscription only thus,

To

TO THE MEMORY OF

# MARCUS OTHO.

Otho died at the age of thirty-seven, having reigned only three months. Those who find fault with his life, are not more respectable either for their numbers or for their rank, than those who applaud his death. For, though his life was not much better than that of Nero, yet his death was nobler.

The soldiers were extremely incensed against Pollio, one of the principal officers of the guards, for persuading them to take the oath immediately to Vitellius; and being informed that there were still some senators on the spot, they let the others pass, but solicited Verginius Rufus in a very troublesome manner. They went in arms to his house, and insisted that he should take the imperial title, or at least be their mediator with the conqueror. But he who had refused to accept that title from them when they were victorious, thought it would be the greatest madness to embrace it after they were beaten. And he was afraid of applying to the Germans in their behalf, because he had obliged that people to do many things contrary to their inclinations. He therefore went out privately at another door. When the soldiers found that he had left them, they took the oath to Vitellius, and having obtained their pardon, were enrolled amongst the troops of Cecina.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.